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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Selections.

From the Liberator.

GRAND MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

Agreeably to public notice, a meeting of the friends of universal liberty, who sympathise with the American slave, and with the oppressed people of Ireland, was held in the *Old Cradle of Liberty* in Boston, on Saturday evening, November 18, 1843, for the purpose of considering the address of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland, on the subject of *American slavery*, written by *Daniel O'Connell*, in reply to a vindication of slavery, sent to that body by the pro-slavery repealers of Cincinnati.

The hall was well filled by a highly intelligent and respectable auditory, among whom were many ladies, and a large number of our Irish fellow-citizens.

The hall was tastefully decorated with a number of banners, on which were painted very appropriate anti-slavery mottoes; on the table was placed the great Irish address, signed by O'Connell, Father Mathew, and 70,000 others.

The meeting was called to order by Francis Jackson, at 7 o'clock; and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, was unanimously appointed president. He said—He hoped never to shrink from filling any vacant post in the cause of Liberty, to which he might be called, especially so long as the cause was an unpopular one, and the post one of trial and reproach; so long as there were blows to give, or blows to take. It was immaterial to him in what part of the field of conflict he stood, if he could only be permitted to grapple with the enemy, and show by his deeds, rather than by his words, how strong was his hatred of oppression—how sacred his regard for human rights.

The organization of the meeting was then completed by the choice of FRANCIS JACKSON, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, AMOS FARNWORTH, and H. I. BOWDITCH, vice presidents; and OLIVER JOHNSON and CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, secretaries.

Mr. Johnson then read the following letters:

BOSTON, Nov. 17, 1843.

F. JACKSON, and O. JOHNSON, esq'rs.

GENTLEMEN: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, inviting me to attend an *anti-slavery* meeting, which is to be held at Faneuil Hall on to-morrow evening, and in reply thereto, I beg to say, that I shall not be able to do myself the honor of being present.

I am, gentlemen,
Your most ob't serv't,
JOHN R. FITZGERALD.

BOSTON, Nov. 19th, 1843.

DEAR SIRS:

Almost stepping on the cars for Worcester, I have had your letter of invitation for Saturday evening's meeting. I have had but time to glance at the grand, generous, impassioned, and yet logical address of the mighty champion of human rights all over the world. It is true, what he says of Irishmen here—and pity it is true. It is with regret, therefore, that I am compelled to say, that I cannot be present at your meeting on Saturday evening—it would have given me special pleasure—but I had already engaged to lecture on that evening in Waltham. My subject will be O'Connell—my audience operatives—so that, though not present, you will consider my work as well as yours, in the cause of human improvement and human liberty. In great haste,

I am, gentlemen,
Yours most sincerely,
HENRY GILES.

The President (having requested Mr. Jackson to take the chair) then proceeded, (after a few eloquent introductory remarks,) to read, in a very distinct and impressive manner, the address of the Dublin repealers. Many of its passages elicited the most enthusiastic applause, and the whole was listened to with intense interest.

Mr. Garrison then resumed the chair, and the floor was taken by

Amasa Walker, Professor at Oberlin, who made a brief, but exceedingly pertinent address.

Oliver Johnson then presented for the consideration of the meeting the following resolutions, suggested by the address which had been read.

1. Resolved, That this meeting, in the name of enslaved and bleeding humanity in this country, of its friends and advocates, the abolitionists of the the United States, hails with heartfelt admiration, the *great anti-slavery address* of the repealers of Ireland, to their degenerate, pro-slavery countrymen, the Irish of Cincinnati, drawn up by the hand of O'CONNELL, adopted by the National Repeal Association, and read this evening in Faneuil Hall—an address worthy the great hand that penned, and the brave and generous hearts that adopted it.

2. Resolved, That it is the crowning glory of the repeal movement in Ireland, that it does not selfishly limit itself to national politics, or the wrongs of the Irish people; but looks abroad to oppressed humanity everywhere, and especially, and expressly to the down-trodden American slave, and zealously espouses the great movement now going on for his deliverance.

3. Resolved, That the professed repeal movements among slaveholders in this country, have not their origin in any love for Ireland, or the cause of liberty, but are only part of the grand conspiracy against human rights, maintained and carried on at the South; a crafty manœuvre, to enlist the feelings and secure the votes of the Irishmen of the United States, in order to give political ascendancy to the slave-power, and for the perpetuation of slavery.

4. Resolved, That the only true friends of Ireland, and of the down-trodden Irish people, here and elsewhere, are the abolitionists, who recognize humanity from every clime, and extend the hand of sympathy and brotherhood to every human being, especially to those who are oppressed.

5. Resolved, That the Irish people ought to entertain a sleepless jealousy of all slaveholders, and their apologists and abettors, and to look with indignant distrust on all demagogue editors and tyrant ecclesiastics, who would counsel them to wink at slaveholding, or to stand aloof from the cause of the bleeding slave.

6. Resolved, That American slavery is the deadliest foe of the rights of labor; and scorning and crushing as it does, the laboring man, ought, therefore, to be an object of special indignation and alarm to the hard-working Irish emigrant.

7. Resolved, That as abolitionists, on this occasion, we remember with delightful interest and admiration, the anti-slavery co-operation and services of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society in old Dublin.—where the Webbs, the Haughtons, the Allens, and the Moores, have no less signalized themselves in the cause of American abolitionism, than O'Connell and his coadjutors in the cause of Irish repeal.

8. Resolved, That the Irish liberator, in declaring, at the immense repeal meeting at Mullaghmast, "that he liked the sympathy of every good man everywhere, but he wanted not the armed or physical support of any country," assumed an attitude equally sublime and invincible, and for that noble sentiment deserves to be applauded by all that is humane and magnanimous in the wide world.

9. Resolved, That we do not hesitate to express to our oppressed brethren in Ireland, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, our most hearty wishes for their deliverance from British injustice, and for the success of the Irish repeal movement, by the use of all peaceful and moral instrumentalities.

10. Resolved, That while we rejoice at the patience and forbearance of the Irish people, in resolving not to strike the first blow at their armed invaders, he would exhort them to the still higher and more magnanimous determination, never to strike the second blow, in any possible event; but to maintain inviolably the spirit of peace, which shall surely conquer their oppressors, and give them the great results they are seeking for their beloved country.

11. Whereas, Daniel O'Connell, in a glowing speech, delivered in the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, in 1840, declared—"I recognize no American as a fellow-man except those who belong to anti-slavery societies"—and styled the American abolitionists "noble-hearted men and women," adding, "I hail them all as my friends, and wish them to regard me as a brother—I wish for no higher station in the world, but I do covet the honor of being a brother with the American abolitionists"—"they are deeply persecuted, and deserving of every encouragement which we can possibly give them—I would that I had the eloquence to depict their character aright; but my tongue falters, and my powers fail, while I attempt to describe them: they are the true friends of humanity: there is not a delegate from the anti-slavery societies of America, but ought to have his name, ay, *her* name, written in characters of immortality; a human being cannot be placed in a more glorious position than to take up such a cause, under such circumstances"—

And, whereas, in the address, sent over to the Irishmen in this country, signed by those great champions of freedom and temperance, Daniel O'Connell, and Father Mathew, and seventy thousand others in Ireland, it is declared that "slavery is a great sin against God and man"—that "all who are not for it, must be against it"—that "none can be neutral"—that Irishmen ought to join with the abolitionists everywhere, and cling by them as the only consistent advocates of liberty"—

And, whereas, in the scathing and eloquent address from the National Repeal Association, which has been read in the Old Cradle of Liberty this evening, the Irish residents in this country are called upnever to cease their efforts, until the crime of which Lord Morpeth has accused them, "of being the worst enemies of the man of color," shall be atoned for, and blotted out forever—therefore,

Resolved, That not as Americans merely, but as abolitionists,—those whose country is the world, and whose countrymen are all mankind,—we would address ourselves to the Irish people of these United States, and call on them, not as Irishmen, but as brethren of the one great family of man, to give immediate heed to the heart-stirring appeals that have been made to them, from time to time, by their anti-slavery brothers in old Ireland, and one and all to enlist themselves with the abolitionists, for the overthrow of the most atrocious system of oppression that ever disgraced the annals of our race,—the system of American slavery.

12. Whereas, the Irish newspapers in the United States have refused to lay before their readers the address of the repeal association, and the address signed by the Irish liberator and Father Mathew, and seventy thousand others, on the subject of American slavery; and, instead of hailing the grand anti-slavery movement as worthy of universal sympathy and support, have actively assisted the slaveholders of the South in heaping opprobrium and contempt on that movement,—assailed the abolitionists with fury and malevolence,—and become the tools of pro-slavery demagogues, and the panders to a corrupt public sentiment; therefore,

Resolved, That the journals alluded to are a disgrace to the righteous cause of repeal, a curse to the people, and utterly unworthy the patronage or countenance of the genuine friends of Irish freedom and universal emancipation.

13. Resolved, That all human beings ought to become abolitionists—all slavery, whether at home or abroad, ought to be immediately abolished—the working-classes throughout the world ought to be emancipated from the power of aristocracy and the chains of monopoly—and every man ought to be recognized and treated as a man and a brother, no matter what may be the climate from which he hails, or the complexion which God has given him.

Wendell Phillips then made a most eloquent speech, which was loudly cheered in all quarters. He read an extract from the bull of Pope Gregory against slavery, and proposed three cheers for his holiness, which were enthusiastically given.

J. Campbell, (an Irishman, and a member of the Boston Repeal Association,) supported the resolutions, and spoke with great severity of the conduct of those slaveholders and pro-slavery men, who pretended to be the friends of Irish repeal, but were doing all in their power to seduce the Irish people into the support of slavery.

J. C. Tucker, a vice-president of the Boston Repeal Association, rose in the gallery, and replied to the previous speakers. He contended that O'Connell was not rightly informed of the state of the anti-slavery question here. He was followed by

Mr. O'Brien, another member of the Boston Repeal Association, who said, though he was born in Ireland, he was an American citizen, and considered it his duty to support American institutions; and he regarded it as an insult when the people of his native country made these appeals to him as an Irishman!

Messrs. Tucker and O'Brien were replied to by W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and J. N. Buffum.

The debate was continued until half-past 10 o'clock, when Mr. Garrison proposed that the question on the passage of the ninth resolution be taken separately. The resolution was then adopted by acclamation. The remainder of the resolutions were then passed by a strong vote.

On motion of W. L. Garrison, it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of the meeting, signed by its officers, be transmitted to the Dublin Repeal Association, to Daniel O'Connell, and to the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society.

Two thousand copies of the address of the Dublin repealers were gratituously distributed to the audience; and, at twenty minutes before 11 o'clock, the meeting was dissolved.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*
FRANCIS JACKSON, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, AMOS FARNSWORTH, H. I. BOWDITCH, } *Vice Presidents.*
OLIVER JOHNSON, CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, } *Secretaries.*

From the Liberator.

SPEECHES AT THE FANEUIL HALL MEETING.

After the transaction of some preliminary business, Mr. Garrison took the platform with Mr. O'Connell's reply to the Cincinnati Repeal Association in his hand; but before reading it to the audience, made the following prefatory remarks:

The occasion, fellow-citizens, which has called us together, is one of those way-marks in the world's history, by which great events are signalized, and the cause of liberty accelerated.

We have assembled for no party purpose, no sectarian object, no geographical advantage, no merely national consideration; but to break the fetters of tyranny, and to vindicate the rights of man. (applause.)

It is to apply the test to ourselves, to ascertain how many of us are on the side of the oppressed, and how many are disposed to uphold the power of the oppressor. For, though this is the sixty-eighth year of American independence, and this the boasted land of the free and the brave, and we are convened in Faneuil Hall, it yet remains to be seen who we are; for all are not Israel, who are of Israel. May there be none found here to-night, arrayed against the sacred cause of freedom!

It is Ireland—struggling, oppressed, triumphant Ireland—that is to speak to us to-night, (cheers,) through her repeal association, and by the majestic voice of her peerless champion, Daniel O'Connell. (cheers.)

Within the last two years, the cause of Irish repeal has received a mighty impetus in this country; and, what is quite extraordinary, distinguished slaveholders are foremost in espousing it—from Richard M. Johnson, down to Robert Tyler. To what is this sudden outbreak of patriotic sympathy, on the part of such men, to be attributed? Is it that they really care anything about Ireland, as a matter of principle? Is it that they sincerely desire success to the struggling cause of liberty? No. They are actuated by a regard solely to the preservation of their nefarious slave system; for, by thus pretending to feel for crushed and outraged Ireland, and sending over the pecuniary aid to the repeal association, which should be given to their own vassals, they expect to secure the religious and political influence of the Irish population, as a matter of gratitude, on the side of "southern institutions," and in opposition to the anti-slavery movement. (applause.) They have hoped to bribe even Daniel O'Connell to silence, and the whole body of the repealers in Ireland, on the subject of American slavery! Their plot has been cunningly laid, but it is now exploded. It behooves all honest, freedom-loving Irishmen, if they would not be made the tools of slave-drivers, to understand this matter. Is it not certain, that they who are engaged in selling human flesh by the pound, and in robbing the victims of their tyranny of the most sacred rights, cannot espouse the cause of Ireland as its genuine friends? (cheers.) They want your help, your votes—and this is the secret of their deep sympathy for Ireland! (cheers.) Will you allow yourselves to become their dupes, to become the bodyguard of their merciless slave system? They have sent over their donations (the unpaid wages of their slaves) to Ireland, thinking to silence the great liberator himself, in regard to their crimes; but they did not happen to think right! (cheers.)

Yet Ireland is truly deserving of the sympathy of the friends of freedom throughout the world. She is now the victim of an absolute despotism; for when the contemplated meeting at Clontarf was prohibited at the point of the bayonet, then were freedom of speech, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble for a redress of grievances, trampled in the dust. We, therefore, the abolitionists of the United States, who love liberty for all mankind, necessarily love it for Ireland also—as the greater includes the less. Slandered as we have been, and defamed on every side, we are the only true friends she has on this side of the Atlantic.

What has been the course pursued by the Irish newspapers, in regard to the anti-slavery enterprise? One of friendship, of kindness, of manly co-operation? No. Have they not joined with southern revilers, in heaping contumely and scorn on the abolitionists? Yes. Have they had the courtesy or fairness to lay before their readers the address of the seventy thousand of Ireland to their countrymen in America; or any of the speeches or letters of Mr. O'Connell, in condemnation of southern slavery; or the reply to the repeal association of Cincinnati? No—no! They have suppressed all these, in order that you might not be influenced by such powerful appeals. If they have alluded to them at all, it has been rather for the purpose of raising doubts as to their genuineness, than of doing justice. How many of you have seen the letter drawn up by Mr. O'Connell, in reply to one sent over to him by the executive committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society? It is by keeping you in the dark, that they hope to be able to control you.

There is not an honest Irishman in this hall, who is a sincere worshipper at the shrine of freedom, who will take offense, or be disturbed by anything that is contained in the document which I am about to read. But if there be any here, who are conscious that they are equally culpable with the Cincinnati repealers, they will naturally writhe beneath the scourge of Ireland's fearless champion. (applause.)

Mr. Garrison then read the address, which elicited frequent bursts of applause.

Professor A. Walker, of the Oberlin institution, next took the platform.

Mr. Walker said he had been requested to be present and address the meeting, but his health did not permit him to make an extended speech; yet he could not forbear, in a few words, to express his high approbation of the excellent address which had just been read, the great respect he felt for the persons from whom it emanated, and the strong desire he had that it might produce a great and powerful effect on that interesting portion of our fellow-citizens to whom it was especially directed. It was a noble document, full of just and humane sentiments, and worthy of the illustrious source from which it came; worthy, he should not hesitate to say, of the greatest man of the age. Daniel O'Connell was not well understood and appreciated in this country.—Our information came so generally through the tory press of England, in which he is constantly and systematically misrepresented, abused, and vilified, as a low blackguard and unprincipled demagogue, that multitudes in this country had imbibed a false impression concerning him. But Mr. O'Connell was a man of splendid abilities, and the most powerful orator he had ever heard; and what was more, he now occupied the most interesting position ever allotted to any man. He stood as the powerful and fearless asserter of his country's freedom, and appealed, not to violence, and physical force, but to the calm reason, and the moral sentiment, of his own countrymen, of England, and of the civilized world. Mr. O'Connell was making a great and glorious experiment, and Ireland was now the most interesting theatre of moral and social reform on the globe.—In that hitherto oppressed and bleeding country, the mighty, the momentous experiment of the superiority of moral over physical force, was to be tried. All mankind were spectators to the wonderful scene, and deeply interested in the final issue; and for one, Mr. W. said he had no doubts of the successful result. If Mr. O'Connell could succeed in keeping the peace of Ireland, he would effect its emancipation. This was the opinion entertained by intelligent men on the other side the water. Mr. W. said he, on one occasion during his recent visit to England, asked a distinguished member of the British parliament whether he thought Mr. O'Connell would be able to keep the peace of Ireland. "That," said the honorable member, "is just as much as to ask me whether he will succeed in the repeal movement!"

Now, said Mr. W. this document is worthy of such a man, engaged in such a cause, and using such means; and can it fail of being received with reverence and respect, especially by every Irishman worthy of being called a countryman of Daniel O'Connell?

This document was worthy of those generous hearts who adopted it, and sent it forth to this country. Mr. Walker said he was happy to declare, as the result of his own observation, that there were no truer, more generous and philanthropic hearts, than the Irishmen of *Ireland*; and if Irishmen of America could sympathize with slaveholders, and stand as the apologists of oppressors, he was sure a very wide distinction ought to be drawn between them, at least as wide as the Atlantic ocean. Irishmen in Ireland cannot *conceive* how their countrymen, who have fled from robbery and oppression at home, to a land where their own rights are respected, and where they enjoy liberty and equality themselves, should be so recreant to the cause of humanity as to give countenance and support to oppressors, or deny aid and sympathy to the oppressed. No. It seems to them incredible, and nothing but that which appeared to be the fullest evidence, could lead them to admit the unwelcome conclusion. But, (said Mr. W.) they have done so. They have been led to believe, from various sources of information, that such was the fact; and it fills them with unutterable disgust and mortification. Still, (said Mr. W.) I shall dispute the fact that the great body of the Irish people in this country are unfriendly to the abolition of slavery, or have any sympathy with oppression. It is not possible, in the nature of things. A voyage across the Atlantic could not produce such a metamorphosis. It could not be that the great body of the Irish people here were so unlike their fellow-countrymen at home. It was a mistake. The fact had been admitted on partial and insufficient evidence. The evidence which had gone across the water, had been mostly from the action and expression of meetings in the large cities. "Great cities were great sores," where, if there were anything profligate and base in the nation, it would naturally be collected; and these demonstrations, apparently so adverse to the interests of the enslaved, were in fact but tricks of designing and unprincipled demagogues, who were aiming at their own political advantage, by misrepresenting the true feelings of the Irish in America. Was it not so? (universal cries of "Yes, yes," from the Irishmen present.) Irishmen! do you sympathize with the oppressor? (cries of "No, no.") Are you so unlike the Irishmen of Ireland? (continued cries of "No, no!") I am sure you are not so unlike them; but if you were, you would well deserve to be sent—back to your oppression and chains in Ireland, shall I say? Oh, no, you would not deserve a destiny so blessed as that; for there you would find, amid all your toils and sufferings, true and noble hearts around you; there, too, the golden rays of the rising sun of liberty might gladden your eyes on the glorious morning of Irish freedom, and your ears might hear the mighty voice of O'Connell announce the welcome jubilee of Irish emancipation! No. Such a destiny you would not deserve, but rather would you not well merit a dishonorable exile to some lonely and distant land, far from the home of your youth, far from all noble and generous spirits, where you might, amid chains, and servitude, and oppression, learn to sympathize with those who groan under the bondage of slavery. I repeat, (said Mr. Walker,) it is not true that the majority of the Irish people in this country take part with the slaveholder. They are misrepresented by active, ambitious, and designing men, who make them speak a language which their true Irish hearts do not feel, and make them appear to assume an attitude before the world, which they do not in fact occupy.

[These remarks were heartily responded to by the Irish, who were present in great numbers.]

Wendell Phillips, of Boston, next addressed the meeting, as follows:

Mr. Chairman—Do you recollect the lines which an Irish poet has put into the mouth of the ill-fated Lord Fitzgerald? From his prison he is supposed, a few days before his melancholy death, to address his country in strains like these:

"Oh Ireland, my country! the hour
Of thy pride and thy splendor has passed,
And the chain that was spurned in thy moment of power,
Hangs heavy around thee at last.
There are marks in the fate of each clime,
There are turns in the fortunes of men;
But the changes of realms, or the chances of time,
Shall never restore thee again.
Thou art chained to the wheel of the foe,
By links, which a world could not sever;
With thy tyrant through storm and through calm thou shall go,
And thy sentence is bondage forever.
* * * * * *
In the nations thy place is left void,
Thou art lost from the list of the free;
Even realms, by the plague and the earthquake destroyed,
May revive—but no hope is for thee."

Such was Ireland, in 1799—scattered and peeled—her cry unheeded—her best sons on the scaffold, or in exile—without weight—without hope. It seemed as if the last star in her horizon had gone out.

Look at her now. Every eye fastened with the deepest interest on her slightest action. The civilized world sitting at her feet, to learn the lesson of peaceful revolution. The power of the mightiest nation quails before the voice of her unarmed peasantry.

Well does her glorious son boast that he has cowed the Saxon. Well may he triumph in the thought, that Cæsar, at the head of sixty legions, was no mightier than he. What must be the master spirit able to arouse the nation, and change the despair of 1799 into the courage of 1843? What power over the people, to hold them for twenty years in his hand, and armed with their hearts and confidence, compel a reluctant government to all his demands! But above all, what must be the *nation*, which made such a career possible! All honor to the general—but forget not the noble material from which his army has been created. I am not here to flatter, even in my feeble measure, a man or a nation. However much this may sound like eulogy, it is, in fact, but the cold verdict of history. (cheers.)

I am glad old Faneuil Hall is to ring out an echo, to-night, to the Corn Exchange. Mr. O'Connell tells us, he stood for his statue, while he dictated this address. Sir, may there come a time when a copy of that statue shall be placed here, in the Cradle of Liberty, side by side with our O'Connell, [pointing to the picture of Washington.] (loud cheering.) Hereafter, when we call up the names of those whom these walls are wont to honor, he who forgets that of O'Connell, will leave out one of the brightest stars in the galaxy. (applause.)

This address alludes to the report, that some abolitionists cherish a bigoted antipathy to Catholicism. You and I know, Mr. President, as well as every one in this hall, that no such prejudice exists. And this reminds me of an extract which I wish to read, as a sort of appendix to the noble document we are assembled to welcome. It is the bull of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1839, against slavery and the slave-trade. With your permission, I will read its concluding paragraph. I believe, sir, it will be the first papal bull which was ever read in Faneuil Hall, in this city of the Puritans. I had the pleasure of being in Rome, the winter it was affixed to the colossal door of St. Peter's, to be read of all nations, in the sonorous Latin of the Roman church. Here it is:

"Wherefore we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of Christianity, having summoned several of our reverend brothers, their eminencies, the cardinals, to our council, and having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonish by our apostolical authority, and urgently invoke, in the name of God, all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or to despoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessories to others, or furnish them aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account henceforth to exercise that inhuman traffic, by which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but mere cattle, and are bought and sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labors—which traffic is, moreover, a source of dissension and continual quarrels, by the prospect of gain it holds out to those who can first obtain possession of these negroes. We further reprobate, by our apostolic authority, all the above described offenses, as utterly unworthy of the Christian name; and by the same authority, we rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastical or laical, from presuming to defend that commerce in negro slaves, under any pretense or borrowed color, or to teach or publish, in any manner, publicly or privately, things contrary to the admonitions which we have given in this letter."

Now, sir, where is the sect among all the hundreds of our country, which can point to such an explicit testimony upon slavery and the slave-trade, emanating from its head and leader in the present day? *Not one.* Sir, I am no Catholic. But welcome, thrice welcome any hand to help us uproot the foul system which tramples on humanity in our midst! Prejudice against Catholics among abolitionists! I propose three cheers for the abolitionist, Pope Gregory XVI.; and may they ring out gloriously from these arches of Liberty's home! (Three long cheers were given with the greatest enthusiasm, all present joining).

Sir, this is an address to Irishmen. I boast no Irish blood, but my heart kindles with enthusiasm, as I read it. I mean to profit by the lesson which it gives. I cannot spare all O'Connell to Irishmen. He belongs to the race, to liberty. (immense cheers.) Every one, striking for liberty, has a right to call him brother—leader, if you will. (cheers.)

They tell us America bestowed a noble boon on the three kingdoms, when she sent them the temperance reformation. If it be so—if Father Mathew owes light and motive to America—then, with measure pressed down and overflowing, has the debt been repaid. If we have helped in striking down the wine-cup, they have retorted, by striking off the chain. (cheers.)

Sir, what a contemptible figure does a pro-slavery Irishman present! He comes from a land weighed down with the iron yoke of oppression—no sooner landing on our soil does he stand erect, gather the means of comfortable competency, and grasp the ballot-box, than he uses all to rivet the chain from which he has just freed his own neck. He stands stretching one hand over the water to help his blood-brother rise and be a citizen, and with the other, crowds down the unhappy negro, who only asks to be a man! Sir, we know many such have been made the tools of party. And now, in righteous retribution, a party is growing into notice in New-York, the "Native Americans," driving the very brothers of these men, yet to arrive upon our shores, from the privileges of the ballot-box. If it succeeds, they may mainly thank themselves for the result.

I was struck to-day, in this morning's paper, with a fulsome eulogy on Robert Tyler. The Times thus describes him: "With a heart keenly alive to the beauties of nature and the wonders of that mighty universe which spreads itself out unheeded by the clod, he has a heart that bleeds in sympathy at the wrongs inflicted by the hand of power, and responds to the slightest tone of human suffering, whether national or individual—whether breathed close beside him, or uttered aloud in the vast world of pain, and tyranny, and oppression, across the seas. What Irishman does ever forget," &c. &c. and then follows an appeal to Irishmen, for gratitude to this slaveholding repealer. "Breathed close beside him"—does that mean in the District of Columbia? I wonder whether, in this case, liberty begins at home? Or do you suppose, sir, the groans of nine millions of Irishmen from across the water have drowned the still small voice of some score of bondmen on his father's plantation? (applause.)

Sir, I do not believe that the actors in the repeal movement here can cheat the honest hearts of Irishmen much longer. He really loves liberty—he really hates a tyrant—and has sense enough to know one, when he sees him. Curran tells us his heart is warm—there's not cold enough in our climate to chill his pulses. (cheers.) Curran says he is hospitable; and will he close his door on the fugitive, traveling by starlight, who asks a shelter and a morsel in the name of a common humanity! Not to redeem a thousand Erins! Sir, St. Patrick, they tell us, was a fugitive slave. The Latimers of every succeeding year may claim, at least of Irishmen, assistance in his name.

What a farce, sir! A slaveholding repealer! On one side the ocean, behold O'Connell! He has thrown down the shillelegh, and the sword, too; and with both hands extended, he stands ready to grasp the sinking brother, no matter what his sect or his complexion, and raise him to the platform of equal rights—of a common humanity. (cheers.) And here calling himself by the same name, aspiring to aid in his great cause, stands one whose mouth prates of "peaceful revolution," and nothing but "moral force," while his right hand flourishes the slave-whip, and his foot rests on the neck of his fellow. (appluuse.)

Prejudice against the negro! A genuine Irishman has none. When you hear him talk of it, be sure some Yankee taught him; and, after all, he repeats the lesson but awkwardly. He has no *heart* for it. Prejudice against color! Why, who was it exclaimed, "May some black O'Connell soon arise in America, and redeem another race from bondage"?—Would to heaven he might, say I. (immense cheering).

I am not speaking only to Irishmen. I rejoice in O'Connell, as a man. Think, sir, while government was striving to get him wound in its toils, (toils he will break through as he did before, like a lion through the spider's web,)—cheers)—while he stood with the fate of nine millions of men in one hand—even then, his heart was Irish, big enough for the world—and he stretched that omnipotent other hand across the water, and struck a blow which rings on every link of Carolina's chain, and makes the sighing bondman leap up, confident that he, too, will soon be free. (immense cheers).

It enlarges our idea of manhood. It gives us a noble faith in our nature. I stand not here to flatter him, even if our words were ever likely to reach his ear. But we do thank him, that when we stood alone, a feeble band, struggling against fearful odds, and looking upward to God for strength, hardly daring to glance around for very loneliness—we do thank him that then, of a sudden, these sixty thousand (touching the famous Irish address of 1841) rallied at our side, and we were strong in the warm hearts of veterans in freedom's struggle. (long continued cheers.) Yes, when the battle raged loud and long—when false friends hovered near to betray—when the air was dark with the darts of enemies—over the field of doubt and confused struggle, beautiful "like a trumpet with a silver sound," rung out the tone of O'Connell's summons, bidding Ireland on this side the water rally, as in Erin, for the cause of God and human rights. (applause.)

Mr. Tucker, vice-president of the repeal association, made some remarks. He began by saying he was an Irishman, and a repealer. He was aware of the efforts to induce Irishmen to come out on this question. but there was a difference between being a foe to slavery, and an *open* abolitionist. He denied the truth of Lord Morpeth's account of the Irish. O'Connell might believe it, but he did not. He was an Irishman. Neither O'Connell nor the Pope should control him. He respected them, but he should judge for himself. Much had been said about the Pope. He was the head of his religion; but if he or O'Connell undertook to control his vote, it would be in vain. The repealers would not be driven by any party, to anything.

He was repeatedly cheered.

Mr. O'Brien followed. He said he agreed mainly with his friend Tucker—was an anti-slavery man, and wished all others to be so, but must sustain American institutions—said it was an insult to read these addresses and bulls to them. They were not slaves. All Irishmen loved freedom; and would be free. He urged the repealers to be true to themselves, and their cause.

He was enthusiastically applauded.

Mr. Phillips replied:

Mr. Chairman—Is it Mr. Tucker's habit to have opinions, and on great questions of liberty, too, which he dares not divulge? An *open* abolitionist In America, we dare speak what we think. If I am a repealer, I will be an *open* repealer. I have no principles on these subjects, which I would conceal, in order to advance others. (applause.) That may be an Irish way of loving liberty; but it is not in fashion here—at least, with honest men.

Sir, I did not quote the Pope or O'Connell, as to Irish slaves, or Catholic bigots. It is not worth my while to labor with slavish hearts. There is no room for them in this hall. (cheers.) But it is an Irish idea of freedom, indeed, to be free from logic!—independent of argument!—(cheers.) I quoted the opinions and arguments of able, sound-hearted men, to influence your minds in the path of duty. When the Pope says a good thing, he shall be praised for it, Pope though he be, ay, and in Faneuil Hall, too. (applause.) And as for O'Connell, when he utters a stirring thought, my heart *will* leap up at it, without stopping to think whether he is an Irishman or not. (long cheering.) Sir, my friend, O'Brien, says, he is an American, and has nothing to do with O'Connell. Indeed, sir! and yet he tells us that his heart stirs for his brothers and sisters in Erin. Well, if he is an American *in this sense*, why should his heart stir for Erin more than *mine*? On the supposition of being so exclusively American, the slave of the Carolina is nearer to him than the peasant of the Green Isle. (laughter and cheers.) Sir, he is an American, and so am I. He is as much an American as I. I recognize no claim to country stronger than a man's choice. (applause.) But his heart is large enough for all climes and colors; for the Irish peasant and the negro slave. (applause.) My friend, O'Brien, talks of sustaining "American institutions." I take that as an insult. Institutions! one man's foot on another's neck, is no institution!—least of all, an *American* institution. I claim to be an American, as much as he—and I deny to slavery the honor of the name. (cheers.) Sir, these gentlemen talk to us of interfering with *repealers!* I have not addressed a repealer to-night. Are Irishmen nothing but repealers? (applause.) Have their hearts grown so small and selfish, that they find room there only for themselves? When they have poured their wealth into the treasury of Ireland's redemption,—God bless them for it!—when they have cheered her champion on—when that work is done—I come and hold up before them the kneeling slave. If they tell me they have no time to attend to him—that his cause is unpopular—that to *help him* will *hurt* themselves—I reply—you may be *Boston* repealers, for aught I know, but you are not repealers of the Corn Exchange—(cheers.) The Haughtons, the Allens, and the Steeles, Mathew, and O'Connell, stand not at *your* sides—insult them not by your companionship. (immense cheers.) Sir, our chairman asked if a slaveholder, with his foot on the slave, could help repeal—if a tyrant could aid liberty. Some answered, "Yes!" I want their names. I want a responsible person to say here, to-night, that repeal overrides humanity; that the slaveholder of Carolina is a worthy second to O'Connell, at the Corn Exchange. Give me a name, and I pledge myself to send it to Dublin; and if the satire with which its wearer is scathed, does not make all that was poured on the head of unlucky Brougham, milk and water in comparison, I do not know Daniel O'Connell. (loud cheers.)

A few pertinent remarks having been made by James. N. Buffum, of Lynn—

Mr. Garrison said—I complain of the gentleman who spoke in the gallery, (Mr. Tucker,) and of Mr. O'Brien, that they have made a false issue on this occasion, by holding up the question of repeal as that for which this meeting was called. This is an anti-slavery, not a repeal meeting—called expressly to consider what action should be taken in regard to the anti-slavery address sent over to this country by the repeal association—called by well-known friends of the slave, with an anti-slavery object in view. Is it, then, decent or honorable in them to attempt to change the issue? I appeal to them to say, if, at a repeal meeting, any abolitionist should attempt to thwart the object of the meeting by giving it no countenance, and turning it into an anti-slavery occasion, whether they would not regard such conduct as highly reprehensible?

Mr. Tucker thinks it does not follow, that a man is the enemy of liberty, who is not "an open abolitionist." In this I think he is greatly mistaken. There are but two sides in the great struggle now going on for the overthrow of slavery in this country—there are but two parties in the conflict. The abolitionists are the exclusive champions of freedom, and all who are not openly with them, are on the side of the oppressor. It is for their seizure that rewards are offered—it is they alone who obtain the curses of the masters, the blessings of the slaves—and none can occupy the ground of neutrality at such a crisis. He who is not prepared openly to avow his sentiments, but will skulk from responsibility, on an occasion like this, is a coward. He is fit to be the tool of tyrants, and will be used for that purpose. He is servile in spirit, and no freeman. Let him hasten to the South, and put himself as a slave on a plantation, under the lash of the driver; for the slaveholding power has long since ceased to make any distinction among slaves on account of their complexion. (cheers.)

We are told that the repeal movement shall not be identified with any other in this country, whether religious or political. Has it hitherto been kept thus separate? Has it done nothing to aid slavery, and to arrest the anti-slavery enterprise? But what is our complaint? Not that Irishmen, as repealers, but that Irishmen as MEN, are not abolitionists. We do not ask the repeal association, as such, to take any action for the abolition of slavery; but we do insist that the cause of negro emancipation ought not to be postponed to that of Irish repeal—that the two movements are identical in spirit, though not in form—that every free citizen ought to be "an open abolitionist."

To what does all the declamation of the gentlemen amount? What though they are patriotically independent of the Pope and of Daniel O'Connell? What though they are American citizens, and capable of forming their own opinions? What though they are not to be coerced into a support of the abolition movement, but choose to act on their own convictions? That is not the question, and it determines nothing. Are they abolitionists, as well as repealers? Let them define their position.

Irishmen! when the question was distinctly put to you, whether such men as John Tyler and Richard M. Johnson—men who impiously trample on the image of God, and hold human beings in slavery—whether, in one word, atrocious and unrelenting tyrants could possibly be the genuine friends of Irish liberty, a strong response was heard in the affirmative! Shame on those who gave it! They know that they speak falsely—that "they are liars, and the truth is not in them." (cheers and great sensation.) It is impossible that tyrants can honestly espouse the cause of an oppressed people; and he is for the freedom of all, who is for the freedom of any. It is to make you their allies to protect and perpetuate slavery, that these men pretend to sympathize with Ireland—and for no other purpose.

Why, in the sacred name of heaven, are you not abolitionists? It is admitted that our cause is just—that truth and right are on our side. Why, then, do you stand aloof from us? Your repeal movement is a righteous one; so is ours. You associate to effect your object; so do we. You employ the press, and scatter your publications, in order to operate on public sentiment; so do we. You agitate the public mind by frequent lectures and meetings; so do we, Your efforts are professedly peaceful and moral; ours are pre-eminently so. You know that there are nearly three millions of the American people—"bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh"—who are this evening clanking their chains in despair, and doomed to hopeless servit

either on the hill-side or upon the margin of the sea; while the churches of the establishment were comparatively deserted.

Certainly the spectacle thus exhibited, was sufficiently imposing. It was immediately and unavoidably associated with pure motives and lofty principles. The calm enthusiasm and the subborn valor of the ancient Covenanters rose up in the mind, and the scenes which Sir Walter Scott so vividly paints in fiction, were exhibited before me with all the reality of truth.

Before going north, I had supposed that Scotland might be pretty equally divided upon the subject; that the Church, though split and terribly shaken, had large numbers still adhering to her. In this, it is incumbent upon me to say, I was greatly in error. It is certain that the great mass of the people have left the establishment. The richer classes, indeed, with a very few though prominent exceptions, have adhered to her; but the majority of the middle, and the vast bulk of the poorer classes, have seceded. The established kirk has not only ceased to be the church of the majority of the nation, but it has become the church of the small minority. If this state of things continues, the same anomaly will exist in Scotland, as has existed for so long a time in Ireland."

The present state of the establishment, is described as follows:

"The crown and lay patrons, have had very considerable difficulty in filling up the vacant churches. Many of its adherents have been subjected to personal violence; more to a species of popular persecution which is most difficult to bear. Its ministers preach to pews and benches, rather than to congregations. They are looked upon with general suspicion and distrust. They find their position lowered, and their sphere of usefulness much curtailed."

This event in Scotland, and the late repudiation by the Irish Catholic clergy, of the idea of the contemplated legal support, are significant events.

Communications.

AUXILLARY SOCIETY.—ANNUAL MEETING.

The Central New-York State Anti-Slavery Society met persuant to notice, on Tuesday December 19th, 1843.

At 11 o'clock, A. M. Samuel Lightbody called the meeting to order, and nominated Alfred Wilkinson, of Onondaga, as chairman of the meeting.

On motion of S. Lightbody, a committee of five, A. Hanna, H. Newland, James Hallock, Abby Kelley, and Francis Wright, were appointed.

On motion of F. Wright, a business committee of seven, Wendel Phillips, Wing Russell, S. S. Foster, P. S. Wright, H. Bushnell, S. Lightbody and R. N. Pratt, were appointed.

On motion of S. Lightbody, a finance committee of three, Wing Russell, S. Lightbody, and A. Hanna, were appointed.

On motion of S. Lightbody, all persons now present, or who might be present at any subsequent session of the meeting, are invited to take part in the deliberations and decisions thereof.

During the absence of the business committee, Wm. Allen, esq. addressed the meeting, by the way, as he remarked, of "defining *his* position," and closed by presenting in writing, a few brief arguments in favor of slavery.

The report of the executive committee being in order, it was read by the secretary.

REPORT.

The Executive Committee of the Central New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting their first annual report, presume not on their superior zeal, activity, or devotion to the cause of our afflicted and deeply injured brother. To others, also, are they happy to concede fidelity and efficiency in promoting his interest—in imbuing the public mind with anti-slavery truth—and in the prosecution of those measures which, in their apprehension, were best adapted to accomplish the end in view.

The "field" is our country—the work of vast magnitude—the laborers, comparatively, are few. Our object should be, therefore, not only to "raise up more laborers," but to make of each, and all efficient and permanent agents, doing the work of anti-slavery, evangelists.

To this end anti-slavery truth must be scattered broad cast, over, not only the non-enslaved, but whenever practicable, over the enslaved States. This, in a degree, has been and is still being done; and its effects already swell our hearts with joy, and thankfulness, and hope.

The North, the hitherto debased and enslaved North, is being redeemed, already the "bow of promise" spans the northern hemisphere. The splendor of a glorious morn—the ushering in of a better day, sacred to liberty and to man, illumes the eastern sky.

The public mind exhibits a more healthy state, an unerring index of progress. Our fellow-citizens, by "groups" and "sections," are identifying themselves with their outraged brother. The great questions that agitate our country, are approached in a more fearless manner, and a more decided and determined resistance to the advance of slavery, is more generally exhibited.

The annexation of Texas, a question of vital interest to the "institution," meets with a reception, which, if it does not prostrate the hopes of the South, imparts but a faint prospect for the consummation of their wishes. A decided improvement in the public mind, is manifested on this momenteous subject, which, for the time, may be the all-absorbing topic, involving the perpetuity of the Union.

The Union!! Its *value* has been estimated worthless, burdened with the curse of perpetual slavery. Dis-union—a word of ominous import—is becoming a theme of discussion, not by the fanatical few, but by large and increasing bodies of American citizens, whose strength of attachment to our beloved country cannot be surpassed. "Dis-union rather than annexation," is the response that comes floating upon the bracing western breeze—borne upon the furious northern blast—and rides upon the eastern storm. Let those be warned who would press a measure fraught with evil, and only evil, to our common country.

This, briefly, is the position of affairs at the present time. It is true, the friends of civil liberty are, in some sections, even of the so-called free States, assailed by strong popular prejudices—by political and ecclesiastical anathams. But opposition daily weakens. The "staff of accomplishment" is in hands that falter not, and whose watchword is ever onward! onward!!

To what influence may we attribute the change thus wrought upon the public mind? We answer, unhesitatingly, to the efforts, mainly, of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its friends. For ten years past, has it systematically, perseveringly, and efficiently, through evil report and good, labored in behalf of oppressed humanity. Its energies has not been wasted in drilling men to party tactics, but have been devoted to the high and noble efforts of arousing the nation from its criminal apathy—creating a conscience—imparting to it a heart! The spirit of the High and Mighty One has accompanied their efforts; the valley of death has begun to move; bone is coming to its bone, and ere long will arise that "great army," which, "unawed—undismayed," will utterly raze the bulwarks, great and small, of American slavery.

Of our own works, it becomes us to speak with diffidence, especially in view of the object contemplated—THE EMANCIPATION OF THREE MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOWS! But we have done what we could. Since the organization of our society, it has held several interesting and important conventions, at which resolutions of the strongest anti-slavery character, were discussed and adopted. The teetotal pledge has every where been introduced and large numbers have in many places signed it, thus virtually severing their pro-slavery connections—ecclesiastically and politically.

At these conventions, one or more of the agents of the American society—with whom we are laboring in conjunction—have been present.

Soon after the formation of this society, the women interested, put in progress a series of *Fairs*.

The first was held in February, at ROCHESTER, and was principally sustained by the woman in Western New York. Aid to a limited extent, was furnished.

The second was held by our society, at SYRACUSE, on the first day of August—a day ever to be commemorated as having given birth to a nation—at which, over and above expenses, was realized, *one hundred and fifty-seven dollars and fifty-three cents*. A large proportion of the unsold goods, were soon after sent to the village of SENECA FALLS, in the western district, where the third fair was held; at this also, the society, realized the handsome sum of *one hundred and thirty dollars*.

The committee of women are now prepared to hold the fourth, and last for the year, in THIS CITY, on a more extensive scale than either of the foregoing.

During the first eight months of the year past, the Parent Society's agents were still in this field, consequently, we employed no agents, and the funds raised at our conventions, and other large meetings, amounting to some seven or eight hundred dollars, were transmitted direct, to the treasurer of that society.

Although there was not, during that time, a salaried agent employed by this society, yet there was much labor bestowed by volunteers, who have "gone forth bearing precious seed, and returned, bringing their sheaves with them." The result of their labor has been evinced by an increased vote against slavery, in some towns, from fifty to an hundred per cent. Pro-slavery churches have, in some instances, been divided, in others they have almost unanimously taken high anti-slavery ground, thus evincing a sincerity to be commended, in not seeking to make their politics purer than their religion.

For the last three months, we have the satisfaction to say, that ABBY KELLEY, has been the active and efficient agent of this society. The labors of this noble and highly gifted woman, have, as heretofore, been given for the cause's sake, "without money and without price." Indeed such services are far above compensation. Large, crowded audiences have everywhere listened to her with wrapt attention; multitudes who have heard, have believed, and the truth has made them free, and with zealous hearts have they embraced the holy cause of liberty. From every place where she has lectured, the most thrilling reports of her effective labors are received. As an instance, the minister of one of those places, remarked, "I know not the man who is not convinced of the righteousness of our cause; nearly all are converted, and I believe every woman stands true." She has everywhere succeeded in introducing large numbers of anti-slavery publications and periodicals. The American Anti-Slavery Almanac, a most excellent tract, has been scattered with a profuse hand, over her field of labor, that having sown the seed, it may not be left to wither for want of culture.

EZRA C. SMITH, was also employed, and sent into the field, on the first of September, but owing to unforseen circumstances, was obliged to abandon the work, after three week's labor.

We are now happy to state, that the committee have secured, for the ensuing six months, the valuable services of James Monroe, who is to commence his work here, on the first of January.

The committee, have also established an *Anti-Slavery Book Depository*, at the store of Francis Wright, corner of Genesee and Fayette streets, where most of the standard works may be obtained.

Thus the society, organized amid the violent opposition of open enemies, and the covert hostility of pretended friends on the one hand, and the chilling apathy of the community to the cause of bleeding humanity on the other; has struggled through the first year of its existence. It may not, and undoubtedly has not accomplished all that, in the ardor of our enthusiasm we could have desired, and at its organization anticipated; still it may be said, ground has been gained, and many have been brought into the *true principles* of anti-slavery. Broad and distinct lines of demarcation, between the true and the false, have been drawn. For our field has been flooded with a spurious, heartless abolition, which has stood more in the way of truth, than open opposition; an abolition which says, and does not, either in Church or State, for the crushed bleeding slave. In conjunction with this, is another, nearly as fallacious, which spends its strength upon the ballot-box, while the professed Church is permitted to remain, the apologist and guardian of slavery!

Finally, dear friends, let us, as we have commenced, so go on, recommending our principles by a consistent life and conversation. Spreading light and truth as God shall give ability, regardless of the frowns of enemies, or the machinations of the slave's pretended friends, who secretly would uproot and destroy our influence by false and malicious insinuations. Onward, again we say, onward, trusting confidently in the strong arm of the Omnipotent Jehovah, who delights to use weak instrumentalities for the furtherance of his most glorious plans, and whose promise to those engaged in the promotion of truth, is, "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

In behalf of the executive committee,
S. LIGHTBODY, Chairman.

W. C. ROGERS, Secretary.

On motion of S. S. Foster, the report was adopted, and ordered to be printed, with the proceedings of the meeting.

The hour of 12 having arrived, on motion, adjourned to half past 1, P. M.

Afternoon session.—A desire being expressed by some to canvass the merits of the report, but not being prepared at the time of its adoption, the adoption of the report was re-considered, and it was laid on the table for subsequent action.

The business committee, through their chairman, reported for the action of the meeting, in part, as follows:

Resolved, That the American Church, by her open hostility to every effort for the emancipation of the slave, has proved itself recreant to her professions, destitute of the spirit of Christ, and unworthy the support or confidence of the friends of humanity, and that duty to Christianity as well as to the slave, demands of every one to withdraw from her, and bear testimony against her corruption.

The discussion of the resolution was participated in by W. M. Allen, Wendell Phillips, Doctor Sherrill, S. S. Foster, D. A. Warren, H. Bushnell, Abby Kelley.

The hour of adjournment having come, and Wendell Phillips, being to lecture at the Broad street Baptist meeting-house, the meeting was adjourned to 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Morning session.—Second day.—The chairman having called the meeting to order, the discussion of the resolution was continued by Mr. Woodson, Mr. Spencer, D. Plumb, and others, and occupied the entire session, when it was adopted.

Adjourned to half past one P. M.

Afternoon session.—The chair being vacant, by the necessary absence of Alfred Wilkins, on motion of W. C. Rogers, Mathew C. Rider, was called to preside.

The annual report was then called up, and unanimously adopted.

The report on finance was presented, recommending the raising of funds by voluntary subscriptions, and the following (the motion being spoken to by W. Phillips, Abby Kelley, Green Thomas, S. C. Green, and others,) amount was pledged, viz: *Two hundred and twenty-seven dollars twenty-five cents*, of which sum fifty-one dollars twenty-five cents was paid down in cash. The remainder is sure, being in the best of hands. A list of donors is herewith forwarded, which you will please acknowledge.

The business committee, reported in continuation, as follows:

2d. Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States requires the return of the fugitive slave; and while the existence of *one* government, involves the whole nation in the guilt of an institution so national as that of slavery; it is the duty of every lover of liberty, and every consistent abolitionist, to withdraw from it, and neither exercise any privilege, nor do any act, which makes him a citizen under the present constitution.

3d. Resolved, That the true principle of practical abolition, is "abolition or disunion."

4th. Resolved, That, whereas, he who swears to support the Constitution of the United States, swears to support the whole of it. And whereas, since that instrument has provided for itself an authorized and final interpreter in the Supreme Court, he who swears to support it, swears to support it in the sense which that court puts upon it. And whereas, when a person accepts office under it, he becomes the representative, not of his own district merely, but of the Union, and has committed to him the interest of the nation; therefore,

5th. Resolved, That every holder of office under the Constitution of the United States, is bound not to oppose the return of the fugitive slave, but in many cases actively to assist in it. And no protestation beforehand, no compact or understanding between him and his immediate electors can affect, or limit the extent of his oath; and further, that the attempt to do so, is a virtual fraud on other parts of the country—and the result of such jesuitical reservation is a blow struck at that mutual faith which forms the foundation of society, and pregnant with disastrous effects on the freedom of all the race, which far outweigh any fancied aid it can give towards the emancipation of one part thereof.

The discussion of the resolution was made the order for the evening session.

Adjourned to half past 6, P. M.

Evening session.—Wendell Phillips, entered upon the discussion, before a large and deeply-interested audience, who listened to his surpassing eloquence, with profound attention, for two hours, while he defended and sustained the position assumed by the resolutions, and after answering several queries propounded to him, S. S. Foster took the platform, and in a most eloquent and happy manner controverted the main position of Mr. Phillips, occupying the attention of the people to a late hour, making it one of those occasions of most intense and thrilling interest to all present.

Circumstances fully justifying, the meeting was adjourned to the *third day*, to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock.

Morning session—third day.—Met as per adjournment. After a season of silence, the meeting was opened by an anti-slavery hymn.

On motion, the resolutions under consideration were laid on the table, and the following resolutions, relating to John Quincy Adams, were then introduced, and discussed by W. M. Allen, S. S. Foster, Abby Kelley, Tucker Woodson, Judge E. Bacon, Wendell Phillips, and adopted, by an almost unanimous vote.

[For the resolutions, here referred to, see the Standard of December 14. The tenth was stricken out.]

On motion, the adoption of the nominating committee's report was reconsidered. Adjourned to half past 1 o'clock.

Afternoon session.—Meeting called to order by the chairman. The resolutions—2, 3, 4, and 5—being the order of the afternoon, W. M. Allen, A. Bradley, and S. S. Foster, took the floor, on the negative; the affirmative by Wendell Phillips—Judge Bacon concurring with Mr. Phillips, in his views of the Constitution, the compact, and his construction of it. The discussion occupied, with the exception of a few moments, the entire session. In all, some six hours of most interesting and profitable debate.

The resolutions, at the close of the afternoon session, were laid on the table.

The nominating committee, by their chairman, reported the following as the list of officers for the ensuing year, viz:

President—James Cannings Fuller, of Onondaga co.
Vice-Presidents—Abm. Van Epps, Vernon; Wing Russell, Syracuse; Alfred Wilkinson, Skeneateles; Paulina S. Wright, Utica; Stephen W. Brown, Little Falls; David Cushman, Exeter; Janette Brown, Fulton county; Mary Springstead, Madison county; Abigal Mott, Albany county.
Corresponding Secretary—Francis Wright.
Recording Secretary—Robert N. Pratt.
Treasurer—H. Bushnell.
Executive Committee—Samuel Lightbody, chairman; Harriet Searls, W. C. Rogers, Sophia Luce, Andrew Hanna, Mary Allen, Utica; Matthew C. Rider, Litchfield; Samuel A. Green, Winfield; Ralsaman Seymour, Paris; Elizabeth Russell, Syracuse; James Hallock, Vernon; Jane E. Hitchcock, Vienna.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted. Adjourned to half past 6, evening.

Evening session.—Meeting opened by an anti-slavery hymn.

The business committee reported the following resolutions, which were discussed by Wendell Phillips, and adopted:

6. Resolved, That the refusal to use the ballot-box, when made at the command of conscience, is no giving up of influence, but the only way of preserving that consistency of character which entitles a man to the respect of his fellow-citizens, and of exerting the high control which moral influence must always possess upon the elements of political power; and further, whether a surrender or a gain of influence, if duty demands it, it is to be made, since God never requires of us to do evil that good may come.

7. Resolved, That the bare possibility of the annexation of TEXAS, a slaveholding country, to this nation, crowned by the anxiety with which the progress of the question is watched in all the States, is proof sufficient that our attachment to liberty is a shallow pretense, and the value we set on free institutions is all hypocrisy.

8. Resolved, That this society views, with the most admiring respect, the noble philanthropy of Daniel O'Connell, tempted neither by sect, color, sex, or clime, and receives with cordial and deep gratitude the aid which his powerful voice has often given us, coming as it does over the water freighted with burning rebuke of the sin of slavery, and urgent and ceaseless appeals to those who love his name to pledge themselves to unrelenting warfare against it.

Abby Kelley designed to have closed the meeting with some remarks, but the sweet spirit of the Christianity of the land, which had been thus far through the meeting barely suppressed, could no longer be restrained. It broke forth in all its native loveliness, and MONOCRACY *again triumphed!!* The "central city" was again honored in having a peaceful meeting of its citizens broken up by the unearthly yells, obscenity, and outrages of a lawless mob!! a mob in which were engaged the sons of some of our principal citizens!

Your venerable correspondent who, last year, was so alive to the honor of the city, (for which he is to be commended,) will not, this year, I venture to say, deny my assertion, that Utica, yes, our beloved Utica, has been outraged again by a MOB!

Thus ended our three days' meeting—a meeting of as deep and abiding interest as Utica ever witnessed, and one we doubt not, which will have an important bearing upon the conduct of many of our most valuable citizens.

MATTHEW C. RIDER, *Chairman*.
W. C. ROGERS, *Secretary*.
Utica, 10 o'clock, P. M. Dec. 21, 1843.

Amount of cash from sundry persons at the annual meeting of the Central N. Y. A. S. Society, viz:

A Backus, $2; Abm. Van Epps, $20; A. Wilkinson, $1; Wm. Rider, $1; Samuel Butterfield, $2; two friends, 75 cents; Wing Russell, $5; Lester Huntley, $5; Julius Bisby, $1; George Ives, 50 cents; an infidel, $1; James Brown, $1; Miranda A. Green, $5; John Cramer $1; a friend, $3; Maria Gray, $1; Mary W. Peckham, $1. Total, in cash, $51 25.

P. S. Dec. 22.—I herewith send you an article (in this day's Gazette) from the pen of the "venerable scoffer." It is a most beautiful exhibition of the decency, the morality, the Christianity of a judge!! Is it to be wondered at, that UTICA should stand forth as the *pattern city*, for order, decorum, Christianity? R.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The afternoon of Wednesday was pretty much occupied with the circulation of subscription papers, and taking up contributions for the benefit of the cause; in which, as we should suppose, and as their speakers declared, they were not very successful; having obtained, as they said, but $130, from twenty-seven subscribers or contributors, in the whole, inclusive of a hundred dollars by Miss Kelley, to be paid, as the boy said he should have a new jacket, "when he got it," or as she could prevail upon others to contribute that sum through her. It was observed that Miss Kelley was very often and earnestly recommending, as a circulating tract, her friend Foster's pamphlet, "The Brotherhood of Thieves." Indeed, she seemed to be possessed with a sort of motherly affection for the bantling; and some even intimated that it might not improbably have been the joint progeny of both, undoubtedly through a legitimate channel. For she more than once in the course of the day, took occasion to allude to the slander propogated against her of holding "*anti-marriage* principles," which she utterly repudiated. So that taking every thing together, we take it she is now to be understood as open to *proposals*. Whether the known father of the "Brotherhood" will, or has already taken *the hint*, is best known to themselves; at any rate, the public has nothing to do with this matter, though the idle and meddlesome world will talk of what "runs in the head."

Between the contribution, and hearing a few scattering volleys of large and small arms from Miss Kelley, Foster, Warner, Phillips, Pancho and others, the afternoon was pretty much consumed, without entering upon the civil government renouncing and John Q. Adams denouncing resolutions, the consideration of which was deferred to the evening meeting. We learn from our friend Bushnell, that he thinks we hardly did him justice in classing him with those who denounced and spoke harshly of the churches and clergy. Perhaps it was so. Upon better reflection, we think we ought rather to have stated that he only poured a few jugs full of smooth *blubber oil* upon the fire already kindled by others before him, by the way, as *he said*, of allaying and keeping down the flame. Such was the manner and extent of *his* offending—no more.

In the evening the discussion on the disunion resolution was opened by Mr. Phillips, who supported the positions of them in a long argumentative speech, with his usual power and ingenuity, which were opposed by Mr. Plumb, Foster, and others, and met with no advocate except himself. The argument in their favor, it is hardly necessary to state, nor would it be practicable without following a very fine drawn out rule of "abstractions," (he will pardon our use of perhaps offensive terms, since no offense is intended,) which, ingenious as they were, appeared to obtain little favor from any quarter, and we can hardly believe are received by the movers of them, as matters likely to be tested by their practical adoption and execution by the present generation, for the redress of any present existing grievances. The room was very full, uncomfortably crowded, and before the close of the meeting became very noisy by clapping, hissing, and throwing now and then a squib by the boys in its corners and recesses, and we are sure its deliberations and doings could be little edifying or satisfactory to any except those who engaged or were engaged in these closing scenes of it. Notice was given in the course of the day that the meetings would be continued indefinitely, so long as, like religious protracted meetings, the prospects of anti-slavery revival should appear to be promising. Upon the whole it seemed to be a subject of regret that a gentleman of Mr. Phillip's acknowledged talents and high personal standing should have come so far and be wasting his time and strength for the maintenance of doctrines which nearly all who heard him either could not fully comprehend, or were by no means prepared to carry into practical operation as the remedy for our present ills, preferring at least a while longer to stand by the glorious and time-honored sentiment of the old motto of 1776, "*E Pluribus Unum*."

The convention at a late hour adjourned until Thursday morning, when, we suppose, Mr. Adams is to be cat-hauled and hung in chains, for the terror of recreant and flinching abolitionists. X.

P. S. In announcing the contributions made for the outfit of the coming anti-slavery fair, Miss Kelley specified one from a peoson, who, in forwarding it said, "that the amount of it was the portion of an unpaid subscription made for the benefit of the Baptist Theological Seminary at Hamilton, viewing it as he then did, as a school of the prophets;" but as he now found out it was only a "Brotherhood of Thieves," he wished to divert it to this channel.

We suppose that this choice morsel was thrown out as a bait to the Baptists, here and elsewhere, to come forward and take a nibble at the table of their anti-slavery fair, especially as the funds that they may raise thereby, are to be applied to the support of lecturers scattering such precious scraps of anti-slavery rhetoric through the land.

To the Right Reverend, Reverend, and Lay Gentlemen composing the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.—The memorial of William Jay, a member of said Church.

The right of the humblest member of the church to address your venerable and honorable Board in the language of respectful petition, on any subject within your official cognizance, will not be questioned. Cogent circumstances, however, can alone rescue a private individual from the charge of presumption in calling your attention to topics of general and not personal interest. Such circumstances your memorialist humbly conceives are found in the deep feeling pervading the community in relation to slavery, and the violent shock given to that feeling by a recent article in the official publication of your Board.

"The Spirit of Missions" is avowedly "EDITED FOR THE BOARD OF MISSIONS," and by editors of your appointment. On the sentiments and proposals of your editors, your silent acquiescence necessarily confers the sanction of your approbation. You are the representatives of the whole Church, embracing not merely all its spiritual fathers, but also individuals expressly selected for their wisdom and piety by the supreme council of the Church. The acts of your Board, from its very constitution, are but little inferior, in weight and influence, to the solemn decisions of our general convention. Hence your sanction of the sentiments of the Spirit of Missions will be virtually the sanction of the Church herself.

This consideration gives very peculiar importance to the extraordinary editorial article in the Spirit of Missions for March last. This article was a spontaneous vindication of the continuance of slavery, and of the traffic in human beings; a vindication wholly gratuitous, and in no way whatever required by the rights, the interests, or the principles of the Church. It was, moreover, an unprovoked assault upon the conscientious opinions of a vast proportion of the Christian world, not excepting very many members of our own church, and probably of the entire body of the bishops and clergy of the church in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

That your editors have the same right as others to express and publish their individual sentiments, on any subject whatever, none will deny; but that they have the right to avail themselves of their official station, to publish, under the authority of the Church, and at the expense of missionary funds, their own opinions on controverted subjects, in no way connected with church polity, will hardly be maintained. Had the Spirit of Missions thrown down the gauntlet to the enemies of a United States bank, or to the advocates of a protective tariff, no diversity of opinion would have existed as to the indecency of its course, nor probably would another number have been issued without containing a disclaimer on the part of the missionary committees, of the conduct of the editors. On what ground, then, can the editors or the Board justify the gratuitous and official declarations that Christian prudence forbids the abolition of slavery, and that emancipation would prove ruinous to both master and slave?

Your Board need not be reminded of the dissensions engendered in the ecclesiastical assemblies of other religious communities, in discussions relative to the unlawfulness of slavery. It has heretofore been the policy of our church to avoid similar causes of disunion among ourselves. How far the denunciation of slavery, as a sin, or its vindication, as a divine institution, is embraced within that whole counsel of God, which every minister of Christ is bound to declare, has hitherto been left to the conscience of each pastor to decide for himself.—But the language of your editors, should it receive your sanction, will be tantamount to an authoritative decision of this question by the Church, and a departure from her past policy, pregnant with most important, and it is to be feared, most disastrous consequences.

The abstract opinions officially advanced by your editors, in relation to human bondage, to Christian prudence, to pecuniary estimates of duty, and to the ruinous consequences of emancipation, are of themselves sufficiently startling. Unhappily, these opinions are embodied in a practical plan for the extension of Christianity, more novel in its conception, more bold in its outlines, and it may be added, more in reckless defiance of the moral sense of mankind, than was ever before presented, in any age, for adoption by any branch of the Catholic Church.

Your editors propose to send the spouse of Christ into the slave market, there to chaffer for the bodies of men, in order, by a newly-discovered contrivance, to extort more money from their toil than ordinary task-masters have usually obtained. These bondmen of the church are to be induced, by the prospect of future liberty, to devote, in addition to the time allotted by the slave-code, to labor two hours before day, and two hours after night, and this for FIFTEEN YEARS IN SUCCESSION; and *then* they are to experience the tender mercies of the Church, in being sent to Africa. In this way, the "plantations" of the Church are to yield not thirty, not sixty, but an HUNDRED FOLD; since it appears from the experiment, on which the recommendation of your editors is founded, that the Church will in fifteen years have gained "a sum of money which will enable (her) to go to Virginia or Carolina and purchase a gang of people nearly double the number (she) sent away."

But the Church is to be not merely the buyer, but also the *seller* of slaves; since it is an essential part of the plan, that such slaves as may prove idle or disorderly, may be sent to market.

The proposition of your editors has acquired great publicity in this country, and will be submitted to the dignitaries of the Church of England. Is it a proposition, which, even if honored with your sanction, will elevate the reputation, or enlarge the influence of the American church? Will it tend to promote harmony and unity among ourselves? Should your decision be in favor of the course pursued by your editors, can there be a doubt that appeals will be taken from that decision, to our general and diocesan conventions, and that even our parishes and vestries will be agitated with this exciting and momentous question?

Nor can it be reasonably anticipated that the support which will thus be given by your Board to the system of human bondage, and the traffic in human beings, will augment the funds of your missionary treasury. The chattels of the Church might sometimes stray away from their house of bondage in the contemplated mission school. Would rewards offered in the public prints by our bishops for their recapture, quicken the missionary zeal of our people? or would your Board, in your appeals to churchmen, urge the loss of your fugitive slaves as a motive for increased liberality?

A venerable and pious presbyter, writing to your memorialist, confesses himself afflicted by the idea that there should be "INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CHURCH, FATTENED AND SUPPORTED BY THE FLESH AND BLOOD OF SLAVES." A city rector, in reference to the article in the Spirit of Missions, writes that he "blushes FOR HIS CHURCH;" and another city rector rejoices in the public exposure of the tendency and character of that article. Will the sanction of your Board have a tendency to check or to foster the growth of these feelings?

Among the Baptists and Congregationalists, missionary institutions, avowedly anti-slavery in their character, have been recently established, in consequence of the real or supposed favor shown to slavery, by the older organizations. It is preposterous to believe, that should your Board even silently acquiesce in the doctrines and plans of your editors, scruples of conscience will soon arise in the bosom of the Church, as to the lawfulness of contributing funds to an institution which justifies slaveholding, and recommends slave-trading?

The article in the Spirit of Missions has derived great importance from the refusal of the missionary committees, under whose immediate direction that periodical is placed, to disown its sentiments. Under existing circumstances, and with the full knowledge, by your Board, of the grief and astonishment caused by the course taken by your editors, your silence will be justly regarded by the Church and the public, as attaching the broad seal of your approbation to the article in question.

Your memorialist asks no action of your Board, adverse to Christian love; but remembering that inspiration reminds us how great a matter a little fire kindleth, he does most earnestly beseech you to extinguish the firebrand your editors have recklessly cast into the Church. He most respectfully asks from your Board a declaration that the sentiments and proposition of your editors, in the number of the Spirit of Missions for March last, in relation to slavery, do not receive your sanction; and that it is not within the province of the editors of that periodical to discuss in its columns questions of morals or of politics, respecting which the church has given no decision, and on which her members are known to entertain contradictory opinions.

Most humbly imploring the great Head of the Church to direct and prosper your consultations for His glory, the good of His Church, and the welfare of His people; and that each member of your Board may be led by divine grace to fulfill in his own person the Episcopal vow, by showing himself "gentle, and being merciful, for Christ's sake, to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help," your memorialist most respectfully subscribes himself,

Your very obedient servant,
Bedford, 16th June, 1843. WILLIAM JAY.

JUDGE JAY'S MEMORIAL TO THE BOARD OF MISSIONS.

During the month of July last, we gave a sketch of some of the proceedings of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, at their annual meeting in Boston, on the 21st of June. We now present the memorial of Judge Jay, which was read, referred, and discussed; and we will introduce it with a few remarks, connected with the subject, and on matters of deep interest to all true churchmen. The "SPIRIT OF MISSIONS—*edited for the Board of Missions*," is still under the control of the Rev. *N. Sayre Harris*, the Domestic Secretary to the Board, and the same individual who, in its pages, recommended the atrocious plan for the support of mission schools, disclosed in this memorial. From the last report of domestic and foreign secretaries, it appears that the large sum of seventy-nine thousand dollars, raised by individual contribution, has been at the disposal of the Board, during the past year for missionary purposes, and that several thousand dollars of the annual fund are appropriated to the salary of the secretaries, and the support of this paper. We mention this fact to show the interest which every Episcopal subscriber to the missionary fund, who contributes his mite without specifically appropriating it to some special purpose, has, in the matter of this periodical, as an indirect supporter of it, besides the higher interest which he should feel as a Christian in the maintenance of true principles in every institution of his Church, by whomsoever sustained or directed.

From the Memorial of Judge Jay, it appears that the Spirit of Missions has propagated doctrines, so repugnant to Christianity, and so revolting to the better feelings of our nature, and has openly advocated a plan for the support of mission schools, so perfectly monstrous in its atrocity, that the Christian reader will take it for granted that the author was instantly dismissed from the service of the Board, and that an indignant disclaimer of his blasphemy was entered upon their minutes, and published to the world. Quite another course was pursued. Among the members of the Board were several from that region of our country where flourish "the Christian brokers in the trade of blood;" and advocates of the domestic institution were not wanting in that assembly. A report was submitted by the Bishop of Delaware, and adopted, eulogizing the course pursued by the editor during the past year, and disavowing all responsibility for the expression of his editorial opinions—thus giving to Mr. Harris the right of publishing what he pleased, without let or hindrance from those who employ him. Thus stands the case at present, and it is difficult to imagine a more extraordinary proceeding on the part of a representative body, to whom are confided by the Church the most sacred trusts. They receive moneys for the support of missionaries, and the advancement of the missionary cause. They establish a periodical and appoint an editor, who receives a salary ten times as great as that of some of the missionaries. He publishes an editorial article, at the bare-faced wickedness of which Christians stand aghast. Leaving the subject of missions, he enters into an apology for slavery, defends its continuance upon principle, and advises a plan, whereby bishops would become its patrons, and the Church its nursing mother. A serious remonstrance is addressed to the Board. They debate it for a day and a half, and conclude by eulogizing the editor, and giving him permission in their periodical, published with their funds, to say what he pleases. It will no longer excite surprise that he has availed himself of this permission, that number after number has contained an indirect apology for the Domestic Institution, and that it is, beyond all comparison, the most effective pro-slavery paper published in the northern States. All these assertions we are ready to prove, if Mr. Harris ventures to deny them. We may further observe, that the conduct of the Board of Missions in reference to this memorial of Judge Jay, and another on the same subject, was most reprehensible. They have intentionally deceived churchmen with regard to it by mutilating their minutes, omitting most important parts of their proceedings, and then publishing their records duly attested, as if they were entire and true. We will not presume to say what was their motive in so doing, but we do say, that the record, as published by their order, is false.

We know not whether the plan proposed by Mr. Harris, has yet been carried into execution. Whether the McDonough Institute is growing fat, upon the blood and sinews of unpaid laborers. But equal censure belongs to Mr. Harris, whether such is the case or not. Says Juvenal,

Scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum
Facti crimen habet.

And if he who meditates the commission of any secret crime, has all the guilt of the deed, he is certainly not less guilty when he proclaims the intention to the world, and endeavors to persuade the Church to consummate it.

The Board of Missions need not wonder that such a contemptible and unworthy course of proceeding on their part, has greatly lessened the confidence of churchmen in their honesty and their wisdom, and that hundreds will be deterred from contributing funds to aid in the dissemination of Mr. Harris's opinions. Churchmen must be justified by their own consciences, in giving to the Board moneys which they might themselves distribute, with a moral certainty of doing good. People in this age will not be satisfied with the authority of names, even though "Right Reverend" be prefixed to them, without a further guarantee in honest, open, and fearless conduct.

If they wish to regain the confidence of the Christian community, let them apologize for the deceptive mutilation of their records. Let them dismiss the individual who has brought such dishonor upon the Church, and employ an editor who shall confine himself to the subject of missions, and for whose conduct of the periodical, they shall be responsible.

It is both our duty, and our pleasure to state, that some members of the Board of Missions have regarded Mr. Harris with the same disgust and indignation, as were felt by Judge Jay, and that their conduct in reference to the memorials was such as became sound churchmen and Christian gentlemen. It only remains for us to add, that this memorial was presented to the Board at their annual meeting in Boston, by the Right Reverend Manton Eastburn, D. D. Bishop of Massachusetts.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE APPOINTED AT THE DECENNIAL MEETING.

Under a resolution passed during the last session of the Decennial Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a financial committee was appointed, from which a report was expected before the adjournment of the meeting; but in consequence of the confusion necessarily attending the closing hours of the meeting, from the great press of business brought before it, the committee could not be got together in season to report to the convention. At their meeting however, subsequently held, it was voted that a report be made through the Standard, which is now respectfully presented to the American Society.

The committee met according to appointment, after the adjournment of the convention in the Callowhill street church. John A. Collins, who was appointed chairman by the convention, having declined serving, S. H. Gay, of Massachusetts, was chosen by the committee.

It is to be regretted that the meeting was not so full as it should have been, but those present deeming their duty an important one, and as, under the circumstances, no second meeting could be held, proceeded to act as their best judgment dictated, assisted by two or three friends present, who were invited to participate in their deliberations, and assist them by their counsel.

The committee would remind the large *body* of delegates who attended the Decennial Meeting of the American Society, that the farce of passing resolutions, and pledging themselves and their constituents, to some strong and united efforts to raise certain sums of money for some specific purpose, has been too often acted in anti-slavery meetings. Such a course in its repetition would seem ludicrously bombastic,—and perhaps does to many, were it not so plainly unwise, and even immoral, as to be rather mourned over than laughed at. Excitement in a good cause, and when it arises from a true feeling, is to be rejoiced at, but when it leads to action, which, on sober, second thought, is either repented of or forgotten, it is very much to be deprecated, and more especially so when on that action is predicted the action of another party. It must be confessed that such has been too often the case in anti-slavery meetings. Resolutions have been passed declaring the readiness and determination of those assembled to wipe off this or that debt, or to carry on this or that enterprise, and the people have then retired to their respective neighborhoods, where they are expected, and where they are able most effectually to act, and have forgotten or neglected to act at all. It is time that abolitionists should cease to pledge, or begin to act.

Your committee would not adopt a tone of despondency, for they are themselves full of hope, that what has been so often true of other conventions, will not be true of the Decennial Meeting. But the fact of the necessity of their own appointment is so indicative of the truth of the statement just made of the delinquency of abolitionists in these matters,—for had such delinquency been the exception instead of the rule, such appointment would have been unnecessary,—that they cannot refrain from calling attention to it. They trust that this hint alone, with a knowledge of the indebtedness of the society, will be sufficient to urge every member of the late meeting in Philadelphia, to carry out the spirit and the letter of the resolutions passed relative to the financial concerns of the American Society.

The committee are not ignorant of, nor will they wink out of sight, the critical condition of the American Society. Various and conflicting opinions are entertained by different persons as to the future policy and course of conduct to be adopted and followed. What the end may be, we will not venture, nor is this the place, to predict; we wish only to direct attention to the fact. On one point, however, there can be no dispute, that whatever may be the result of the crisis which we sum to be approaching, it is certain that the

and-native. In order to avoid all misunderstanding, he had declared, when offered the post of editor, that he approved heartily of the general manner in which the paper had been conducted, and he specified the only variation which he should think of making. That variation he had made, according to his best judgment, and in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, the perfect and entire freedom of both which he had stipulated for before he accepted the office. It was only of such a paper, and on such principles, that he would consent to hold the editorship.

That part of one of the preceding resolutions, which says that "neither this Society nor its organ will prescribe," &c. was considered as an infringement of the editorial freedom; but inasmuch as it did not preclude full and free advice and information through the paper, and only prohibited what the editor had no power to do before, viz: "*prescribing* a mode of political action;" and further and chiefly, because a resolution was passed with but one dissenting voice, (and that afterwards changed,) declaring the confidence of the Society in their editor, and requesting him to withdraw his resignation, he concluded to continue to labor as heretofore, according to the best of his ability, and with no view but to advance the cause of abolition, at his accustomed post. With that view, he resigned it; with that view, and because he was now satisfied that there was a state of opinion and feeling which would enable him still to be useful at it, he consented to resume it.

The subjects of the annexation of Texas, and an indictment of John Quincy Adams, elicited much debate, and created the liveliest excitement. The point at which the anti-Texas resolution stuck, was the pronouncing of the conduct of our government "unjust and perfidious" to *Mexico*. This was earnestly resisted; but although the late period of the meeting did not admit of a full development of the proofs, yet the members were so familiar with them, that they passed the resolution, by a decided majority. The indictment against Mr. Adams, they were not disposed to entertain, in any manner whatsoever. All that the mover finally asked, was to refer it to the next meeting; which, although equivalent, in parliamentary signification, to indefinite postponement, the Society nevertheless refused, because (as we understood it) they thought it would carry the appearance of lending it some countenance. Finally, when it was proposed to refer the subject to a committee, to report at the next annual meeting, many were induced to vote for that, first, because they had a general aversion to resisting *any* proposition for free and full investigation; and secondly, because they supposed that not to permit, would look as if they feared it. There was no doubt that every member dissented, in deep sorrow, from Mr. Adams's opinion on the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and on other points; but there were not, we think, two in the assembly who did not feel entire confidence in his motives and intentions, and profound gratitude and reverence for his heroic and invaluable services to the cause. It was said, that by the providence of God and his own character, attainments, age, and services, Mr. Adams was placed practically at the head of the abolition movement in this country; that that was the secret of the enthusiastic reception which he had met in his progress through the land, a reception which for weeks, and over thousands of miles, resembled the three days' triumph of a Roman conqueror re-entering "the eternal city," that Mr. Adams himself (and this was no small proof of his deserving it all) recognized it as the consequence of his efforts in the cause of humanity, particularly when he saw gathering around him, in confiding and affectionate homage, the women of our country—in whose breasts humanity always found a home—them who from their position and their purity were qualified to render the most unsophisticated and impartial judgment of political men—that Mr. Adams had declared, repeatedly, with a depth of feeling and a solemnity which could not be mistaken, that there was nothing that he lived for except the abolition of slavery; that this accomplished, he could say, with the aged patriarch, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;" that to be carping and caviling at such a man, because he entertained different opinions on some points from ourselves, of which no one questioned the honesty, was sorry business for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and as futile as it was unworthy; for you may as well undertake to squirt out the sun with an engine, *because he has spots*, as to pluck John Quincy Adams from that place which God and his own great services and merits have assigned him in this enterprise.*

This was replied to with warmth and eloquence. John Quincy Adams at the head of this enterprise! when he avows himself in favor of keeping in chains ten thousand of our brethren in the metropolis of this republic! If *he* be at the head of it, then God help the poor slave!

It was rejoined, that it was not just to represent Mr. Adams as *against* the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; that he was as much in favor of it as any person present, but differed with us only as to the way of effecting it.

We hope the *Utica Gazette*, *Oneida Whig*, and other papers which have stated that the parent Society adopted the declaration against Mr. Adams, will correct the error.

We have thus given a brief view of the most material points in the proceedings of the Decennial Meeting. On all questions touching the continuance of the Society, and the Standard, there was a perfect and most spirited unanimity. The collection and pledges, amounting to six or seven hundred dollars, were regarded as a good example, set chiefly by the Pennsylvanians, for the rest of the country. That example must be immediately followed up, if abolitionists desire the continuance of the Society, or their newspaper, or even if they wish the Society to pay their debts, and die with honor—for they owe two thousand eight hundred dollars; besides, as we are informed, (for we have nothing to do with the accounts,) unadjusted claims of former agents, to the amount of ten or twelve hundred dollars. A finance committee was appointed, who were to report through the Standard. We insert in another column their report.

* It is very possible that there is language here which may be misunderstood. In fact, it *was* misunderstood. There was no intention to detract from the merits of Mr Garrison. Such an attempt would be as futile as it would be unjust to the cause, and to him. He is the *Clarkson* of this side, and somewhat more. Mr. Adams is somewhat less than the *Wilberforce* of the other side; not less, but far greater, in intellectual endowments, comprehensive knowledge, vast experience, and ready and thrilling eloquence; but less in clearness of moral vision, less in sacredness and singleness of enthusiasm. In respect, however, to legislative and political action on slavery, it is perfectly just to say that Mr. Adams is at the head of the cause, and there he must remain, so long as he lives, if he survive (as God grant he may) the death of American slavery. While others have laid out the campaign, and raised and disciplined the forces, he is at this moment making the first breach *practicable* in the enemy's first line of fortifications; and aged as he is, will enter first.

On revising the above, it occurred to us, (much to our surprise that it had not occurred before,) that in a comparison betwixt Wilberforce and Adams, considerable allowance ought to be made for the great difference in the environments of the two. Wilberforce addressed himself without restraint, to quiet, and for the most part earnest and friendly listeners. Adams has had to speak to turbulent, frowning, and menacing foes, in the midst of a slaveholding community, far from friends, with scarcely a kind and cheering word or look. He has had to speak with a *gag* in his mouth, an impeachment hanging over his head, and bowie-knives clutched, if not brandished in his face. He has had to speak under threats of assassination from ruffians without, against which he found no security from law within. Lastly, at the age of Nestor, and for a period nearly as long as the siege of Troy, he has had to contend with young, and stout, and wily antagonists! Upon the whole, it is a case, if ever one there were, of true and immortal heroism.

THE SENATE AND THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.

The unpopularity of the 21st rule of the house, is now apparent. In the northern and western States it has become odious to the public. The majority in favor of the rule, at the beginning of this session, was small—only three—and these were timid and reluctant in the support they gave to the rule. The Massachusetts resolutions for abolishing slave representation showed the house that the consideration of the subject could not be evaded, but the speech of Mr. Adams, together with his pertinacious opposition to the rule, did much to shake confidence in the efficacy of any restrictive rules. There is every reason to believe that the rule will soon be abolished.

The senate has got along without any such restriction, because no senator was disposed to abuse and degrade the right of petition, by thrusting upon the body, at all times, papers of an irritating, insulting, indecent, blasphemous or treasonable character. Some thought years ago, in the house, Mr. Slade, of Vermont, was making a speech on an abolition petition, when he touched upon the subject of slavery in the States. Some of the southern members took fire at this, and declared that they would not sit there to hear that question discussed. They withdrew in a body, and remained out until some time the next day. In the meantime, a prohibitory rule was agreed upon, and was adopted by the house. This settled the matter, and appeased the South. The rule has been adhered to, in various forms, ever since. Mr. Cost Johnson's rule, (the 21st of the old edition,) is the most restrictive of any of these.—*Cor. Com. Adv.*

As the question of popularity or unpopularity, seems to be everything with the correspondent of the Advertiser, it may possibly affect his complacent view of the policy pursued by the Senate, in relation to our petitions, to state that *with abolitionists* the mean method adopted by that body, of evading both the reception of petitions, and the responsibility of directly refusing them, has ever created disgust, as well as indignation, and with discerning persons, has been more unpopular than the open outrages of the House. The reason why the disloyalty of the Senate has been less noticed and condemned, has been, first, that few of our petitions naturally went to that body! and secondly, that their craftiness rendered the question of the violation of our rights as presented by their action, more complicated than it was in the House. In the former case we should have had to prove in the first place, that there *was* a violation of the right of petition. For several years while the same mean policy was pursued by the House, it was pretended by the New Hampshire, and other northern recreants, that the right of petition was not violated, but that raising the question of reception, and then laying it on the table, or laying the petition on the table, under a rule that it should not be *read*, *printed*, or *referred*, was a *reception* of petitions, a fulfillment of the Constitution, and no violation of any right. Bad as Mr. Cost Johnson's intentions were, we feel under some obligation to him for having set that question at rest, and shut the mouths of northern serviles by his bold and open rebellion in slapping the doors of the House in the faces of the sovereigns and owners, by the infamous gag-rule of 1840, which has continued to this day.

SLAVERY IN OREGON.

It appears by late letters from Oregon, that slavery and a slave-trade in prisoners of war, exists to much extent among the Indian tribes. Wars are undoubtedly made for the express purpose of obtaining slaves. A coffle of twenty is mentioned as having been brought in by some warriors of the Clamoth tribe. Some of them sold for three horses, and some cheaper. Will Christian ministers quote this example as authority for slavery and the slave-trade, as they do that of ancient barbarians? It is just as good!

But this is not the only slavery in Oregon. The emigrants, who have gone thither, have carried slaves.—This we suspected long ago, but were never able, until lately, to verify the suspicion. At last, we met a Missourian, from the emigraing region, and in answer to interrogatories, he admitted that slaves were carried to Oregon; that their masters, however, considered them as free. But the question is, how do the slaves themselves consider the matter? On this point, we could obtain no information. We wish to have it distinctly understood, as our firm belief, that the *Oregon emigrants are making it a slave territory*; and when our laws shall be extended over it, and our money given to fortify, improve, and protect it, the settlers will *nullify* those laws, if they contain any interdict of slavery or the slave-trade.

NOBLE RESPONSE TO O'CONNELL AND THE IRISH REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—We should do great injustice to our own feelings, to the cause of American abolition, and of universal emancipation, if we did not specially declare our unqualified approbation and admiration of the proceedings and addresses of the Grand Faneuil Hall Meeting, recorded on the first page of this day's publication. Read it, friends, if you love the cause of genuine freedom; read it, if you love yourselves; read it, if you have any hopes of your country, and wish to cherish a feeling of honest pride for anything left to her. Read the *resolutions* as well as the speeches. We read the speeches with pleasure, at the time of their first appearance, but not with the exquisite satisfaction which a careful perusal of the whole has imparted. The reporter is entitled to the thanks of the country, and has ours from a full heart.

☞ We have received from a friend, and a correspondent, in Philadelphia, a complaint of two tardy issues of the Standard.

The first delay of two days, was occasioned by a long letter from himself, which he urgently requested to have inserted in the forthcoming number. We put aside editorial and other matter in type, to oblige him, and our friends in that city. This accounts for one day. The paper is not worked off in our office. In the office where it is worked off, the press broke down. This accounts for the remaining day for the first delay. Last week we had to set aside two or three columns in type, to make room for the important proceedings of the House of Representatives, and the admisable and memorable speech and triumph of Mr. Adams. We trust this explanation will be satisfactory.

Notwithstanding the occurrence of a holyday in each of the weeks referred to, we were fully prepared, but for the circumstances above mentioned, to issue the paper with our usual punctuality.

CORRECTIONS.—We were misinformed as to the fact of the imprisonment, at New Orleans, of the slave child consigned to Mr. Loring. No imprisonment took place. Also, as to the appointment of the committee on the Massachusetts resolutions. In both these cases the information was verbal, and we had no means, until it was too late, of verifying it. We hope under such circumstances for the kind reader's indulgence.

ERRATA.—In the last Standard in the signature of our correspondent at Hingham, for "Jarius" read *Jairus*. In the article "A better day is coming," for "pardoning" read *hardening*.

☞ *Waddy Thompson* has resigned his office as Minister to Mexico.

☞ We are requested to state, in answer to several inquiries, that John A. Collins is not an agent of the A. A. S. Society.

Anti-Slavery Items.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.—A Havana correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, under date of December 18th, says:—

"There is no hope at present that the slave trade will cease. New arrivals continue, and more are expected. I thought the "New Sultan" possessed more humanity; but I am convinced he cannot forget coming from "Old Spain," and that the policy of that nation is to live upon the *groans of victims*, allowing their own subjects to murder each other at home, and to capture and traffic in these hapless Africans. Every day are these unhappy beings, as if by enchantment, offered at public sales in this city, without regard to law, and as if there were no authorities to execute it. On the contrary, the agent commissioned to collect the half doubloon per head, is well known and undisguised. My wishes are to make known to the world these transactions, and to brand all implicated with the most ignominious and public disgrace.

"THE LEGION OF LIBERTY, and Force of Truth, containing the Thoughts, Words and Deeds of some prominent Apostles, Champions and Martyrs," second edition—is a badly got up duodecimo of four hundred pages, devoted to anti-slavery inculcation, and containing extracts from three or four hundred statesmen, philanthropists, editors, &c. on the subject of slavery, annexation of Texas, &c. Governor McDuffie, Chancellor Harper, F. W. Perkins, John C. Calhoun, &c. may here find their writings in defense of slavery in rather odd company.

"The Legion of Liberty"—a protest against the annexation of Texas—is printed separately, and both are sold at the anti-slavery offices in this city, and Albany.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A NOBLE DEED.—During the last earthquake at *Point a Petre*, a gentleman was rescued from death by the heroic efforts of a slave. He was immediately offered a handsome reward for his humanity. "No, no," said the generous fellow—"nothing for money to-day—all for the love of God!" History scarcely records a nobler sentiment. The colonial council voted him 2,000 francs, 1,500 to purchase his freedom, 500 for an outfit in his new career.

THE BOMBAY TIMES mentions the liberation of 7,000 Christian slaves from galling bondage, at the intercession of Captain Harris, late ambassador to Abyssinia; whilst hundreds of doomed Pagan prisoners, taken in the bloody forays witnessed by the British embassy were set at large.

INFAMOUS.—A ward constable of Southwark last evening arrested two colored men, charged with being slaves, the property of a man in Smyrna, Delaware, and immediately started off with the poor wretches.—*Phil. Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

The South Carolina legislature, at its recent session, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the legislature of South Carolina, sound policy, the vital interests of the United States, and their just rights, require that steps should be promptly taken by the government of the United States, for the annexation of Texas."

The National Intelligencer makes the following comments:

"This committee on federal relations, which it appears brought forward this resolution, is a monument of the times of nullification. The committee, by this name, was first created, we believe, as a body charged solely with the high political question which the State was then making, and with its foreign policy in general; for *federal* was then nearly synonymous with *foreign*.

At present from this too restricted meaning, which refused to look upon the Union as part and parcel with itself, the State has gone to the opposite extreme, and includes a foreign land in federal relations.

To be more serious, however, we feel disposed to ask of South Carolina what she wants with Texas? Does she wish to be drained of four-fifths of her runaway population? Does her wealth overburden her? Are not her people always emigrating fast enough? Has she a plethora of prosperity?

Congress.

[MONDAY, December 25th, being a holiday, neither House held a session.]

SENATE, TUESDAY, December 26.

After a brief executive session, in which no business of importance was transacted—the consideration of the cabinet and other nominations being postponed, as is understood, on account of the absence of several senators—the senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, December 27.

Mr. *Walker's* resolution, calling on the treasury department for the information as to the amounts, localities and purposes of the expenditures made by the general government from its foundation to the present, after remarks by Messrs. Walker, Evans, and others, was adopted.

Mr. *Allen* offered a resolution calling on the President for any instructions given our minister at London with reference to the claims of Great Britain on Oregon, and any correspondence between them on the subject: adopted.

Mr. *Atchison's* bill for the organization of the Oregon territory, was referred to the select committee appointed on that subject.

Mr. *King* presented resolutions of the Alabama legislature, for the reduction of the rates of postage to Federal coin.

[These resolutions as described in the newspapers, extended also, to the reduction of rates.]

FRIDAY, December 29.

A great number of petitions in favor of taking possession of Oregon, reducing postage, &c. were received and referred. The Oregon question was called up by Mr. Allen, of Ohio, but deferred one day, on the suggestion of Mr. Archer, of Va. and the senate went into executive session, at the close of which it adjourned to Tuesday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TUESDAY, Dec. 26.

The petition presented on a former day, by Mr. *King*, of New-York, from St. Lawrence County, New York, on the subject of the reduction of postage, the reference of which he had moved to the post office committee, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the franking privileges, of regulating the rates of postage according to the coins of the United States, and to submit an estimate of the lowest rates of postage, which would enable the department to sustain it—came up.

Mr. K. said the petition came from a portion of the people deeply interested in the subject, and as the committee had only had the subject generally referred to them, he had thought proper to move the instructions, and desired to bring the subject before the house, that they might indicate by the adoption of the resolution, their design to act upon it at the present session.

Mr. *Carroll*, of New York, referred to the wide-spread and clamorous interest felt upon this subject, throughout the country, and to the probability that more petitions would be presented upon it than any other, and thought it premature to instruct the committee when as yet but few petitions had been received, and when they did not know what could be the wishes of a majority of the people.

Mr. *Davis*, of New York, thought the information sought, was necessary at any rate; hereafter farther instructions might be moved, if deemed proper.

The instructions were lost by a large vote, and the petition only was referred.

[This looks ill for the cause of post-office reform. The verbal accounts which we have received from Washington, satisfy us, that without a general and energetic movement on the part of the *constituences*, no beneficial change will be effected.]

The roll of the States was called through for petitions in the reverse order. Among those presented, was one by Mr. Adams, for an amendment to the constitution to exclude slave representation, or, as an alternative, for the dissolution of the Union. Referred to the select committee on that subject.

One by Mr. *Adams*, from Woodstock, Ct., containing several pages; some, (for the abolition of slavery, &c.) excluded, and others admissible under the rule. The speaker decided that it must be rejected entire. Mr. A. contended that those parts not coming within the rule, should, according to the invariable precedent, be received, and deeming it a matter of much importance, appealed from the decision, but, as usual, it was sustained. Yeas 105, Nays 40.

[Having no Washington papers, we are unable to show the party aspect of this vote; but can any intelligent reader doubt what it was?]

WEDNESDAY, December 27.

The Speaker announced the select committee on the resolves of the Massachusetts legislature, for on amendment to the Constitution, to exclude the representation of slaves, presented by Mr. Adams, a few days since, as follows:

Messrs. Adams, Rhett, J. R. Ingersoll, Gilmer, G. Davis, Ky., Burke, Semple, of Ia., Morse, of Me., and Giddings.

A resolution of Mr. Clinton, chairman of the committee on public expenditures, empowering that committee to send for persons and papers, was adopted.

[It is to be hoped that this means something.]

HOME SQUADRON.—Mr. *Hale's* resolution inquiring of the Secretary of the Navy, concerning the home squadron—when established by law, wha thave been its annual expenses, and what the estimates therefor for the present year, came up.

Mr. H. talked of the enormous expenses of the navy, and of the necessity of retrenchment therein, as well as in the other departments of government. This home squadron had been established for the protection of the coasting trade, but his constituents, who were deeply interested in this trade, desired not the burden and expense of this squadron. The information sought would reveal a necessity for a reform, and for an abolition of this source of expenditure, &c.

Mr. *C. J. Ingersoll*, opened the presidential canvass, making loud professions of devotion to retrenchment and reform, which he thought should commence not in the navy or army, by recalling the home squadron, to be sent out again next year, or in dismounting a regiment of dragoons, as had been done by the last congress, and which he took for granted would be re-mounted, but with the congressional department—the annual expenses of which had swollen to $2,000,000, and which should extend to a thorough administrative reform and economy in all departments—unless this was done, they could not present themselves before the people on the presidential question; they could not, and ought not to elect their President. He urged the "party" to come up to this work—(and to the reduction of the tariff, Mr. Holmes suggested.) Mr. I. did not declare what would be his course on this; "sufficient to the day was the evil thereof." He had no doubt, but if the expenditures of government were farmed out, as at one time they had been in France, a contract at twenty-one or two millions of dollars, would cover them and leave a handsome fortune beside.

He gave notice of the introduction at an early day, of a resolution for adjournment *sine die* in May.

Mr. *Adams* replied, proceeding, after a playful allusion to Mr. I's political remarks, to urge the importance of reduction in the army and navy, which were the great sources of expenditure to the government, and which had grown to an enormous amount for a peace-establishment. The gentleman, with all his exaggerative eloquence, had made the expenses of congress but $2,000,000, while $9,000,000 and over, were asked for the navy alone this year.

This home squadron, Mr. Adams said, meant WAR, war with Great Britain, war to *annex Texas*, war to prevent Great Britain, if she should incline to get possession of *Cuba*.

Mr. I asked Mr. A. if he would not go to war for that, to which Mr. A. replied, "No!" Mr. I rejoined, "I would." Mr. A. went back to the report of Mr. Upshur in 1841, for an explanation of the object of increasing the navy, viz: "to protect our *institutions*."

[The letter writers describe Mr. Adams's look and manner, when on this part of the subject, as electrifying. We regret that we cannot give his speech in full, or at least, extracts from it, for want of Washington papers. Mr. Adams manages C. J. Ingersoll somewhat as a cat does a mouse, giving him now and then a little run, and then laying a paw upon him. Mr. Ingersoll does not perform his part in a manner equally true to the figure; for unluckily for himself he will play "when the cat is *not* away."]

At the conclusion of Mr. A's remarks, Mr. Hale obtained the floor, and the house adjourned.

THURSDAY, December 28.

Selling freemen for jail fees in the District of Columbia.

Mr. *Giddings*, of Ohio, presented a memorial from one Jones, now a prisoner in the common jail of this city, setting forth that he is unlawfully detained as a slave, and that he is a free man, and about to be sold to slavery, to pay the fees of imprisonment.

The reading of this memorial excited considerable interest in the House, Mr. Giddings said it was dated this day, and witnessed by one of the most respectable citizens of the district, A. D. Hall, esq.

Mr. *Dellet*, of Alabama, said this was a subject properly belonging to the courts of the district, and not to Congress, and moved therefore, to lay the subject on the table.

Mr. *McConnell*, of Alabama, said, "under the table."

The yeas and nays were called upon this motion, and it was rejected by a vote of one hundred to fifty-five.

[This is another triumph, but we have seen no list of the *yeas* and *nays*.]

Mr. *Saunders*, of North Carolina, was extremely desirous of making a statement, but the Speaker decided that the subject, giving rise to debate, must go over.

Mr. *Kirkpatrick* was for referring the memorial to the committee on the judiciary, with instructions to repeal all laws by which such persons were imprisoned and sold.

The Speaker said the motion was not in order.

Mr. *Campbell*, of South Carolina, reported a resolution "That the committee on the judiciary, bring in a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt in the District of Columbia," which was read, and referred to the committee on the district.

[There is something piquant in this juxtaposition of subjects. Here one man, for no offense or breach of faith, is incarcerated, waiting a fate worse than death. While another is to be saved from the possibility of a moment's restraint, even for negligent or dishonest disregard of his engagements. If Coleridge's devil's walk had happened to be by the capitol, while this was going on, his satanic majesty would have enjoyed it.]

HOME SQUADRON.—The debate on this subject, was continued with great animation.

Mr. *Hale*, of New Hampshire, the mover of the inquiry, protested against any imputation that had been made upon him of ruthlessly cutting down the navy. The navy had long been the petted child of the nation, and it was taking the course that other pets were accustomed to take; it was running away with the whole patrimony of the State. Mr. Hale believed this whole policy a dishonest, profligate policy, and one which stamped this House and the nation, with the brand of profligacy and hypocrisy.

He wanted the House to look at this subject in the view taken by the Secretary of the Navy—that it was for the protection of the coasting trade. Mr. Hale told this House and the country, that it was idle; the coasting trade wanted nothing of the home squadron. He wanted gentlemen from Maine—a State most interested in the coasting trade, with a sea coast of three hundred miles—to rise in their places, and state if the immense interest of their State demanded any such protection of government. He thought they would answer with one voice, that they did not. Mr. Hale's constituents were largely interested in this trade—men with whom he met every day, who had all their means invested in it; and a portion of the very small property he himself had on earth, was invested in this coasting trade, and he did know that any such outlay as this for its protection, was at least preposterous and idle. They wanted no such thing; and if the House would adopt this resolution, they would see, by the answer to it, that this was one department where the hand of retrenchment might be laid on, and laid on heavily too, without any injury to the interests of the country.

It would seem as if, in the minds of some gentlemen, the doctrine, that a national debt was a national blessing, was finding great favor. In casting his eyes around as a representative of the people on this floor, to find some department where retrenchment might be applied, the naval department appeared to be one. He saw that in a very short period, the expenditures of this single department of the government, had come up from three or four millions of dollars, to the enormous amount of nine millions of dollars, and it would be seen, by reference to the public documents, that in the last year of Van Buren's administration—that very extravagant gold-spoon administration—the appropriations for this department had been but about five millions of dollars, and for the last eighteen months, only about nine millions of dollars. But now, nine millions of dollars was asked for twelve months; making an advance in this department in one year of 50 per cent. Seeing these facts, Mr. Hale had thought this subject demanded inquiry; and seeing also that this matter of a home squadron had swollen to the enormous amount of sixteen vessels, he had proposed to the House that they should inquire of the Secretary of the navy, what were the annual expenditures of this branch of the service, and what was the estimate of its expenditures for the present year.

Mr. Hale in an independent and fearless tone, said much more. He gave a broadside to the Mediterranean squadron, describing it as an empty pageant, and ridiculed our competition with kings in that sort of thing. He alluded to the army, and said it was now costing the nation one thousand dollars per man!

Mr. *J. R. Ingersoll*, of Pennsylvania, opposed any reduction of the navy, referred to the *glory* it had gained, and thought all our prosperity might be owing to it. He thought the glory alone, was worth the money the navy had cost. He did not deny that there were abuses, and spoke of a box of instruments, which cost six hundred dollars, and was charged to the government at fifteen hundred dollars. Mr. *Morris*, of Pennsylvania, spoke on the same side, described the race of Bladensburg, and capture of Washington, and insisted that the navy was necessary to prevent the recurrence of such scenes.

Mr. *Giddings*, of Ohio, stated that not a dollar had been appropriated since 1837, for the improvement and security of the lake commerce. The shores of the lakes were strewn with wrecks, and with the lifeless bodies of mariners. He would not vote an appropriation of nine millions for the navy, while this state of things was permitted to continue. He disclaimed sectional views; he would confess that he was not satisfied with the remarks made some days ago by a gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. Kennedy,) who undertook, as he (Mr. Giddings) thought, to be a little too loral in his feelings and views. He confessed that they of the West had now the power to maintain their rights which had been so long trampled upon; for, as he had remarked, they had not had a dollar of appropriation since 1837, for the protection of their lake commerce; but having the power, he desired that they should use it with circumspection and care, asking for nothing but that which was right, and submitting to nothing that was wrong. We go, said he, for the protection of the commerce on the Atlantic, for the protection of southern and southwestern commerce, as well as for the eastern rivers, which he was sorry to find were attacked the other day. The people of the West looked upon the interests of all the other parts of the Union as they did upon their own; and while they claimed justice for themselves, they were willing to grant it to others.

He had never been able to answer satisfactorily to his constituents, the question, What is this home squadron for? When he told them that the Secretary of the Navy said it was for the protection of the coasting trade, they again asked where were the enemies that menaced it. On this branch of the subject, the answer of the gentleman from New Hampshire was all-important. That gentleman told them that his constituents were deeply interested in the coasting trade, and that a considerable portion of his property was embarked in it; but that neither he nor they wanted this squadron to protect it. He thanked the gentleman for that answer; it would go to the people of the West, and they would then be better able to understand the purposes for which their money was thus expended. In regard to the navy, Mr. G. avowed the intention to go with any gentlemen, no matter what party they belong to, in reducing its expenditures within a reasonable compass. He believed the commerce of the country did not require so large a naval force as was kept up at so enormous an expense, and he would go for reducing it. A gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Belser) inquired the other day where the money was to come from that was required for the improvement of the western waters.

He would take this occasion to answer the gentleman, and tell him that he would get the money by taking it from the extravagances of the army and navy—by taking the money which was wasted on fortifications, which, in future times, would be considered as useless as the baronial castles of Europe. They had estimates before them now, proposing an expenditure of fourteen hundred thousand dollars for fortifications, which, if applied to that object, would be money thrown away. He would save the money necessary for the western waters, by pruning down and cutting off useless expenditures; and he said to gentlemen who were in favor of such policy, that he would go with them, no matter to what party they belonged. He cared not for party, when he had such objects in view; and would not be driven from his post by the argument that the abuses of this House required correction. He had some experience on this subject; and he would inform the new members that any measure of reform that they might seek to introduce, would always be met in the same way. Let them attempt to reform any department of the government, no matter what, and some gentleman would always rise and tell them that that was not the place to begin at; that there were other and more crying abuses that required correction first. Let them not listen to such arguments; let them apply the reform to the particular department they have in hand, and in that way, and that way alone, they may do good.

But to return to the home squadron. It had been intimated by the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams,) that this squadron was established for the protection of the slave interests of the South. They had seen, in some of the southern papers, the aid of the executive invoked to do something to stop the absconding of slaves from the southern States; and this had roused up the suspicions of the western people, and they were anxious to know the facts of the case; and when they knew that this squadron was not wanted for the protection of the coasting trade, as declared by the gentleman from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) their suspicions would be roused to a higher pitch. Why, it was stated in the southern papers, the other day, that a lieutenant in command of one of our national vessels, went on to the coast of Florida in search of fugitive slaves. An officer of the United States abandoned the commerce he was to protect, and prostituted his flag for the base purpose of catching fugitive slaves.

Mr. Levy begged leave to inform the gentleman that it was not only fugitive slaves the officer went in search of but *fugitive murderers*.

Mr. Giddings disclaimed any sectional feelings in the remarks it was his painful duty to make; but he must speak on this subject as it deserved; and in doing so, would treat southern gentlemen with all kindness. He would tell them that the people of Ohio would never consent to have their money expended to protect the slave-trade, while their vessels were submerged in the storm for want of harbors. They would not consent, while necessary appropriations were denied them, that their money should be poured into the Atlantic States, to protect the Atlantic slave-trade. He did not mean to say that this was the true object of the home squadron. He trusted that such a degradation would not be put upon our flag, and that it would not be prostituted for such a vile purpose.

But he insisted that the inquiries in the resolution ought to be answered. Let the people of the West know the facts. Do not keep them in the dark. If this squadron is kept up for such a purpose, let them know it, and they will say that it is done in violation of their most sacred rights; for they denied the power of this government to tax them to protect this trade on our coasts, and put it down in Africa. He protested that he was not sectional in his views. He would say to the South that he would protect their commerce; but in doing so, he denied that this domestic slave-trade was commerce. The Supreme Court had decided that it was not; and he would say that every attempt to involve the people of the free States in it, was an act of moral turpitude, and an encroachment on their constitutional rights.

A motion to adjourn was withdrawn, to enable the Speaker to lay before the House a request of Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, to be excused from serving on the committee on the Massachusetts resolutions; intimating that his constituents would never consult, but *act* on such a subject. He was excused.

[It follows, from the principle here assumed, that to amend the Constitution so as to make it worth preserving, is a just cause of dissolution and war! This may do for nullifiers, but it will not do for the common sense folks of the North.]

Selling freemen for jail fees, in the District of Columbia.—The unfinished business, being the petition of Wm. Jones, a free colored man, at present imprisoned in the U. S. jail in Washington, and liable to be sold for jail fees, if not claimed as a slave or liberated, came up; Mr. *Giddings* having moved its reference to a select committee of five with power, and Mr. *Broadhead* to amend by substituting the committee on the judiciary.

Messrs. *Saunders*, of North Carolina, and *J. Campbell*, of South Carolina, opposed any reference, contending that the petitioner could be discharged by judicial process, if he could find any white man to swear that he was free. Mr. *Giddings* spoke earnestly in favor of the petitioner, and of the select committee. Mr. *R. D. Davis*, of New-York, would vote for a select committee, but without power to send for persons and papers, and warmly repelled the presumption of Mr. *Saunders*, that he (D.) was some sort of an abolitionist. Mr. *Haralson*, of Georgia, deprecated any action upon this subject, or upon the subject of slavery in any form.

The gentleman from New-York need not threaten the South with disunion in case they abolished slavery—they did not mean to abolish it. Mr. *Beardsley*, of New-York, deprecated all excitement on this subject, and was in favor of referring to the committee on the judiciary.

Mr. *D. P. King*, of Massachusetts advocated a select committee, and quoted from the opinions of Judge Cranch, showing that the law as existing in the District is wrong, and ought to be amended. Mr. *Stephens*, of Georgia, concurred generally in the views of Mr. Beardsley. Mr. *Cobb*, of Georgia, was opposed to legislating for this individual case, but would amend the law if wrong. He said in Georgia a negro apprehended as a slave who proved his freedom, had no fees to pay, but went free, as he ought. Mr. *Stetson*, of New-York, dissented from the views of Mr. Davis. The North was opposed to slavery, and would not dissolve the Union, if the South should abolish it.—Mr. *Davis* reiterated his former avowals. Mr. *Adams*, of Massachusetts, made a caustic speech in favor of the special reference, citing the House to the case when a law like that now required, only that it affected white men, was passed two years since on the motion of Judge White, of Louisiana, one of whose constituents had just been imprisoned here. Mr. *Payne*, of Alabama, spoke against any reference or any amendment of the law. Mr. *McConnell*, of Alabama, said the South would take care of herself, and warned gentlemen against driving her too far. Mr. *Weller* and Mr. *McDowell*, of Ohio, moved the previous question, which was carried, and the subject referred to the committee on the judiciary.

ABOLITIONISTS, PAY YOUR DEBTS!

The Executive Committee of the American Society have adopted the ONE DOLLAR PLAN, for the special purpose of paying the debt, for which partial provision only was made at the late annual meeting.

The question is now to be answered—*Does the American Anti-Slavery Society number twenty-five hundred members, who are able to pay One Dollar each, for the payment of its debt?* If so, we shall soon be an honest society. If not, we shall soon cease to be a society at all. Our operations cannot be continued, if we cannot go upon the cash system.

Friends of the Society are requested to act as agents in their respective localities, and to collect without delay, as much as they can, and remit to the Treasurer.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,		$360
361	Jeremiah Evans, Pennsylvania,	1
362	Josiah Morris, "	1
363	Jesse Hawley, "	1
364	Levi Preston, "	1
365	Phebe Goodwin, "	1
366	John W. Leeke, "	1
367	Thomas Hambleton, "	1
368	T. W.—— New Jersey,	1
369	John Atkinson "	1
370	Daniel Kent, sen. Penn.	1
371	Hannah Sowle, Milton, N. Y.	1
372	Phebe H. Hallock, "	1
373	Hannah Sherman, "	1
374	From a friend to A. A. S. S. Boston,	1
375	Edmund Quincy Sewal, Scituate, Mass.	1
376	A friend in Boston,	1
377	Samuel Ward King, Danvers, Mass.	1
378	Eber Lewis, Pennsylvania,	1
379	Sarah Warner, "	1
380	Joseph More, "	1
381	Rachel Leeke, "	1
382	Ann Preston, "	1

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 12th mo. (Dec.) 31st, 1843.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: David Irish, Quaker Hill, N. Y.; Thurston & Kinsman, Fitchburg, Mass.; Hudson & Humphry, Winchester, Ct.; Edmund Quincy Sewall, Scituate, Mass. John Rolie, Weymouth, Mass.; Josiah Fox, Colerain, O.; Mary M. Peckham, Easton, N. Y.; W. B. Edmondson, Richmond, Ia.; Miss A. Bradbury, Syracuse, N. Y.; Amos Hixon, Bushville, N. Y.; Howard White, Scituate, Mass.; N. Beldon, New London.—Total, $24.

Lewis Otis, Brooklyn, L. I. 50 cents; Samuel Clemens, Manchester, N. Y. $1; Albert Brown, East Killingly, Ct. $1; Mrs. Wm. Sturgis, Brookline, Mass. $4; J. B. Richards, Salem, Mass. $25; M. S. Morris, Richmond, Ia. $1; John Lyman, Winchester Ct. $1; T. C. Baker, Richland, N. Y. $1; Jason Skinner, Harwinton, $1; Samuel H. Colton, Worcester, Mass. $1; C. N. Messenger, Millville, Mass. $3; Josiah Wright, Syracuse, N. Y. $1; Harriet Hayden, New-York city, $1; John Hussey, Aurora, N. Y. 50 cts.; H. P. Woods, Barre, Mass. $1; P. Bates, Springfield, Vt. $4; R. Brown, New-York city, $1; John Bradford, South Scituate, R. I. 50 cts; Joseph Whittemore, Little Compton, R. I. $1; J. B. Studley, Hanover, Mass. $4; Daniel Johnson, Kennett Square, Pa. $1.—Total $54 50.

Donations.—"From a friend," for the Standard, $10.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

PROSPECTUS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held December 21st, 1843, the following resol

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

RURAL LOVELINESS.

There is beauty, there is beauty,
Where'er I cast my eyes—
Where'er upon the broad, green earth,
The light of heaven lies.
In the graceful wave of the dark, tall pine,
Or where, in stillness, its boughs recline
'Gainst the spreading arches of heaven's dome;
In the glossy leaves of the birchen trees;
In the larch's soft tassels, swayed by the breeze;
In the bright green buds of the fragrant fir;
In the flowers, that are blooming everywhere;
In the woodland wild, that no foot hath trod;
In tilled fields, where grain hath displaced the sod;
In the quiet flow of the placid river,
Or its maddened rush, as if leaping forever;
In the seeming repose of the far blue hill;
In the woody valley, dark, cool, and still;
In the little brooks, whose sparkling flow
Thrill the spirit with blessedness as they go;
In the peaceful inmates of the grove,
That show us an emblem of heavenly love,
And teach us to look to a holier home.
Such are the scenes around me spreading,
And must not my heart with rapture thrill?
And, while the spirit thus richly is feeding,
Oh! will not a selfish and stubborn will,
Submissively bow to the spirit of Love,
Whose hand doth o'er all this beauty move,
Ever making each size, and form, and hue,
More beautiful, and more perfect too?
Let me, then, seek, in the little domain,
Which, to my care or destruction is given,
All base weeds to remove, and only retain
Plants that will thrive in the kingdom of heaven.
Let me learn, from the loveliness lavished around,
So to till, that the beautiful only be found,
That the region of soul by my influence be blessed,
As the earthly is soothed by this beauty to rest.

H. W. H.

AFAR IN THE DESERT.

The following Ode was pronounced by Coleridge to be one of the best he ever read. The author of it is Mr. Pringle, who formerly travelled in Africa.

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side;
When the sorrows of Life the soul o'ercast,
And sick of the Present, I cling to the Past;
When the eye is suffused with regretful tears,
From the fond recollections of former years,
And the shadows of things that had long since fled,
Flit o'er the brain like ghosts of the dead—
Bright visions of glory—that vanished too soon;
Day-dreams—that departed ere manhood's noon;
Attachment—by fate or by falsehood reft;
Companions of early days—lost or left;
And my native land, whose magical name,
Thrills to the heart like electric flame,
The home of my childhood—the haunts of my prime—
All the passions and scenes of that rapturous time,
When the feelings were young, and the world was new,
Like the fresh bowers of Eden unfolding to view;
All—all now forsaken—forgotten—foregone!
And I—a lone exile—remembered by none;
My high aims abandoned—my good acts undone—
Aweary of all that is under the sun.
With a sadness of heart which no stranger may scan,
I fly to the desert, afar from man.

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side;
When the wild turmoil of this wearisome life,
With the scenes of oppression, corruption, and strife—
The proud man's frown, and the base man's fears—
The scorner's laugh, and the sufferer's tears;
And malice, and meanness—and falseness, and folly,
Dispose me to musing and dark melancholy;
When my bosom is full, and my thoughts are high,
And my soul is sick with the bondman's sigh—
Oh! then there is freedom, and joy, and pride,
Afar in the desert alone to ride!
There is rapture to vault on the champing steed,
And to bound away with the eagle's speed;
With the death-fraught firelock in my hand—
The only law of the Desert Land!

Afar in the desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side;
Away, away, in the wilderness vast,
Where the white man's foot hath never passed,
And the quivered Coranna or Bechuan,
Hath scarcely crossed with his roving clan;
A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
Which man hath abandoned from famine and fear,
Which the sucker and lizard inhabit alone—
With the twilight bat from the yawny stone;
Where grass, nor herb, nor shrub, take root,
Save poisonous thorns which pierce the foot;
And the bitter melon for food and drink,
Is the pilgrim's fare by the Salt Lake brink—
A region of drouth where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with its grassy sides—
Where sedgy pool, nor bubbling fount,
Nor tree, nor cloud, nor misty mount
Appears, to refresh the aching eye;
But the barren earth, and the burning sky,
And the black horizon, round and round,
Spread—void of living sight or sound.

And here, while the night-winds around me sigh,
And the stars burn bright in the midnight sky,
As I sit afar by the desert stone,
Like Elijah at Horeb's cave alone,
A still small voice comes through the wild,
Like a father consoling his fretful child,
Which banishes bitterness, wrath, and fear,
Saying—"*Man is distant, but God is near!*"

From the Liberty Bell.

SONNET,

Written after seeing the Picture "Christus Consolator."

BY ANNE WARREN WESTON.

Saviour! Consoler! in thy presence bending,
Lo, what a train of mourners round Thee wait!
What earnest prayers, from breaking hearts ascending,
Thy blessed help and comfort invocate!
Great as their sorrow, is Thy mercy great!
The youthful mother, weeping for her child—
The murderer, haunted by remorse, too late—
The maniac, tortured by his fancies wild;—
And chief, the fettered and forsaken slave,
Among this crowd of sufferers claim a place;
Stronger than all, *that* claim on Him who gave
His life a ransom for the human race.
When we, as mourners, on Thy mercy call,
May we, like Thee, have loved and pitied all!

WINTER.

BY MARY HOWITT.

"In rich men's halls the fire is piled,
And furry robes keep out the weather;
In poor men's huts the fire is low,
Through broken panes the keen winds blow,
And old and young are cold together.

"Oh, poverty is disconsolate!
Its pains are many, its foes are strong;
The rich man in his jovial cheer,
Wishes 't was winter all the year;
The poor man, 'mid his wants profound,
With all his little children round,
Prays God that winter be not long."

Miscellany.

From the Liberty Bell for 1844.

LEWIS HERBERT.

AN INCIDENT OF NEW ENGLAND SLAVERY.

BY EDMUND QUINCY.

(Concluded from our last.)

Long years passed away. The struggle was over. The seven years of apprenticeship were at an end, and the American colonies, erected into the United States, had set up the trade of government on their own account. The expectations of the English ministry were disappointed, and the hopes of the loyalists crushed forever. The treaty of Paris had crowned the work, and the rebellion was transmuted, by the magic of success, into the revolution. Many hearts rejoiced at the prosperous issue; some, because they glowed with patriotic fires; some, because they saw a new and untried career of ambition opened before them; some, because the final seal was set upon the confiscations and forfeitures of the troublous times, and confirmed their titles to other people's estates. But there were, too, sorrowful spirits and breaking hearts, wearing out sad years of exile in a foreign land, upon whose ears the distant rejoicings sounded like the death-knell of their hopes. To such, we turn.

One of the gloomiest days of a London November was drawing towards its close. The sun vainly endeavored to pierce the thick fog that buried the city in an untimely night. The street lamps were lighted, though it was not yet sunset, and the windows of the shops and houses shot forth uncertain glimmerings into the darkness. A single candle sufficed to light up the humble room, on the fourth floor, of a dilapidated house, in an obscure part of the city. It had not much to reveal. A ragged carpet strove to hide the middle of the floor, a few common chairs, no two alike, a deal table, and a rough bedstead, all bearing the tokens of poverty and the pawnbroker's shop, filled up the disposable space of the chamber. A handful of coals upon the grate seemed to be endeavoring to excite themselves into a blaze, sending out into the room an occasional puff of smoke, as an earnest of their good intentions. The room was scrupulously clean, but in all other respects, bore the marks of extreme poverty. Upon the bed reclined an old man, propped by pillows, apparently in the last stage of life. By his side sat a woman, of perhaps thirty, but upon whose countenance care and sorrow had done the work of many years. The unnatural brightness of her eye, the hectic spot on her cheek, and the frequent, though stifled cough, showed that she was not much longer for this world, than her aged companion. "Emily, my love," said Mr. Herbert, for he it was; "what was that knocking that just awoke me?" "It was nothing, sir," replied his daughter, "but Mrs. Hobbs, coming after her rent. You remember that the doctor's fee, last week, when you were so ill, swallowed up that week's rent, so that we are now a fortnight in arrears. But I pacified her by promising she should be paid as soon as Lewis arrives. You know it is Saturday night." "Ah, she awoke me from a most delicious dream. I thought I stood, as I often do in dreams, upon the lawn at Walnut Hill. The shadows of the old trees fell, sharply defined, on the grass,—beyond, the Neponset reflected the trees on his banks, as he used to do,—the Blue Hill was on my right hand, the old woods on my left, and the ocean gleamed in the distance. As I stood there, it seemed to me as if all that I have ever known, during my long life, passed in friendly procession before me. First, my parents, and brothers, and sisters, then my school-fellows, and college companions, and so on, as long as I had a friend left. It seemed as if they were gathered to some great festival, of which I was the central attraction. How I rejoiced in the sight of their beloved countenances!" "You have, at least, one friend left, sir," interposed his daughter. "True, my dear, and one worth hundreds that have called themselves so. What would my proud ancestors have said, what should I have said, in my pride of life, had it been foretold that I and my child would one day be dependent, for our daily bread, on the bounty of a negro!" "Dear Lewis!" said Miss Herbert, "he has saved our lives many times. What should we have done without him?" "What, indeed!" rejoined her father. "When the compensation allowed for my losses, by the government, was absorbed by my old English debts, and when, that not sufficing, my very pension was sold, we must have starved, or come upon the parish, but for him. God will reward him." A light tap was heard at the door, which was gently opened, and Lewis entered, his face beaming with satisfaction; for it had been a prosperous week for him. Years had grizzled his hair, and slightly bent his frame, but "his age was like a lusty winter, frosty, but kindly." He wore the dress of the waiter of a tavern, in which capacity he had for many years supported himself and his *protéges*. On his arm he bore a covered basket, containing provisions, which he had just been purchasing. He cheerfully advanced to Miss Herbert, and gave her money for her clamorous landlady, and other expenses. He then busied himself in putting the room to rights, and in performing various services about the sick bed. There was a cheerful alacrity about him, which showed that his labors were indeed those of love. There was nothing of servility about the marked respect which he paid to Mr. and Miss Herbert. His good breeding was learnt in no *coterie* or court, but it could not have been surpassed by the most accomplished graduate of either; for he bestowed the greatest of benefactions without seeming conscious that they were such, and saved the pride of his beneficiaries, while he supplied their necessities. He was fully aware of the obligations under which he had laid the helpless pair before him, and they knew it; but they both felt as if his relation to them was that of a father or a brother. Misery is a great leveller of the distinctions men have made between themselves and their fellow-men. But there was nothing in the deportment of Lewis, that ever reminded his former master and mistress of their obligations to him.

At last, he said that it was time to go, as there was to be a great supper at the Angel that night. As he turned to leave the room, Mr. Herbert detained him. "Lewis," said he, "I feel as if my time was short, and I have a word or two to say to you." Lewis put down his hat and approached the bedside. "My friend," Mr. Herbert resumed, "my child and I owe you many lives. You saved us from a mob in America, and from starvation here." Lewis made a deprecating gesture, and his countenance indicated so much distress, that Mr. Herbert proceeded: "I am not going to thank you, my friend, for that I cannot do,—God will thank you,—but to ask you to be the friend of my child when I am dead." Lewis looked half reproachfully at his old master, as if hurt at the implication that such a request was necessary, and then turned his eyes upon Miss Herbert. They filled with tears as they rested upon her, for he saw, though her father did not, how short a time she was destined to remain behind him. He could not speak, but he took Miss Herbert's hand and kissed it. Lord Chesterfield could not have done it more expressively. Mr. Herbert was made easy on that point. "Now tell me," he resumed, "whether you have made any inquiries as to my old loyalist friends at the other end of the town; do they suspect where I am?" "I have good reason to know," replied Lewis, "that they believe you returned, long since, to America, and have no suspicion of your being still in London." "That is well," rejoined Mr. Herbert, "let the secret be still kept, that the world," (his little loyalist world) "may never know of the latter days of Philip Herbert." He extended his hand to his benefactor, and sinking back upon his pillow, closed his eyes. Lewis, in strong emotion, stole from the room. He returned about midnight, and as soon as he looked upon the face of the sick man, he saw that he was dying. Miss Herbert had suspected as much, and was anxiously awaiting his arrival. They exchanged looks; no words were needed. Lewis took his station on the other side of the bed, and they remained all night watching the face of the dying man. Towards morning, he opened his eyes, and, turning them first upon his friend, and then upon his child, with that look which only a dying man can give, he closed them again forever.

I need not prolong my tale. More than half a century has passed away since all its actors disappeared, like drops of rain in the ocean. They sleep together in one of the hideous church-yards of London, and are forgotten. Of the colonial glories of the Herberts, of the miseries of their exile, of the heroic self-devotion of Lewis, not a trace is left, except this imperfect tradition. Heroic his conduct surely deserves to be called; for what is heroism, but intelligent self-devotion to an unselfish end—self-sacrifice for the advantage of others? And when those, for whom the sacrifices of years were made, had inflicted upon him who made them the greatest wrong man can do to man—when self-devotion was thus the companion of godlike forgiveness—surely, it was a height of virtue, to which the annals of the race can furnish but few parallels. For Lewis was no besotted slave, whom favors or blows had so imbruted that he could not discern his own rights, so that he blindly followed his master, in the belief that he was entitled to his life-long service. He had shown his sense of the degradation and injustice of his servile estate, by leaving the persons and the scenes he loved, for freedom, though in a worse condition, and refusing to return again, until misfortune had overshadowed them.—That he did not grudge his services, he showed by his cheerful gift of them to those he loved, when they were his own to give.

Perhaps there may be some, who will deem it strange that the Herberts should have consented to be thus the dependents of a negro, once their slave. Such should be very careful of their censures, for they may reach farther than they think. Was it more disgraceful to the Herberts to live in London, upon the earnings of a negro, freely offered for the love he had borne them, than it is to grave judges, learned divines, and honorable women, to live upon the earnings of negroes, in Charleston or Baltimore, extorted by the fear or the application of torture? Which is the meaner and more ignominious livelihood of the two? The same practical results are worked out on many a broad plantation, and in many a splendid city mansion, that we have seen produced in an obscure garret in London; only the motive power that creates them is the scourge or the branding-iron, instead of generous affection. There are many men, of eminent station, and who boast loudly of the sensitiveness of their honor, who eat dirtier bread, every day of their lives, than did the Herberts, during their last and evil days.

There may be others, who cannot understand why Lewis, when he was so ready to give his services for nothing, in the days of his master's distress, should have deserted him in the days of his prosperity, when his fidelity might have met with some reward. If there be any who cannot perceive the difference between the fresh gifts of love and the extorted tribute of involuntary servitude, I have no time left to point it out. I can only say, that if it were an error, it was one which he shared with the noblest natures, and the most generous spirits. The divine instinct of liberty, to which he yielded, and which is even now urging hundreds of fugitives towards the polar star, is that which has shed the purest glory upon the page of history, and given to poetry its truest inspiration. Its manifestations, however coarse or barbarous they may have been, ever have appealed with resistless power to the universal human heart. It was this principle that wreathed with myrtle the sword of Harmodius, and has invested with immortal memories the steel of Brutus, and the shaft of Tell. It was this that sent Hampden, reeling in his saddle, a dying man, from Chalgrave field; that taught Milton

"To scorn delights, and live laborious days;"

and that made Vane and Sidney lay down their heads upon the block, as if it were some beloved bosom wooing them to repose. To those who feel that freedom is the only element in which the soul can grow and expand, and who can appreciate the virtues which are its genial growth, in however humble a breast, or obscure a lot, I cheerfully commend the memory and the example of LEWIS HERBERT.

From the Present.

THE MISSIONARY OF PRISONS.

Still prayers are strong and God is good;
God is not made for endless ill:
Drear sprite! my soul's tormented mood
Has yet a hope thou canst not kill.—STERLING.

I have recently had an interview with Dorothea L. Dix, the American Mrs. Fry, the God-appointed missionary to our prisons and alms-houses. This short interview has so refreshed my soul, that I am moved to impart some of its influence to you, and your readers. Perhaps you need such encouragements less than I do. For myself, I must confess that, even while I speak words of hope and progress to others, my own spirit is, at times, almost crushed under the mass of misery and wrong forced upon my observation. When in these desponding moods, I often think of Carlini, the comedian, whose inexhaustible stock of fun enabled all classes of people to forget their sorrows and anxieties, under its merry influence. While his popularity was at its height, a stranger applied to a physician in the city resounding with the echoes of Carlini's mirth, to know what could be done to cure the intense depression of his spirit. "Go and hear Carlini," replied the doctor, "he will chase away your gloom in spite of yourself." "Alas!" rejoined the patient, "I *am* Carlini."

Is it not so sometimes with all prophets of the Future, who dwell amid the social malaria of cities? Is not the bravest spirit sometimes compelled to cry out in agony, *Can* this frightful disorder ever be brought into harmony? Yet even from the dismal depths of such states, I *will* utter the prophecy of faith and hope; for a Divine voice speaks through the clouds, assuring me that my despairing feelings are wrong, and my cheerful utterance is right.

Yet thankful am I for every visible *proof* that faith in the power of Love is slowly gaining ascendancy over habitual reliance on the law of Force. Miss Dix's experience is full of this blessed encouragement. Those who know her, as I have done, are aware that her life has been one continued exertion and self-sacrifice for the good of others. To those who do not know her, she would, in unaffected humility, shrink from having it told.

It is little more than two years since her attention was arrested by the condition of prisoners, particularly of those who were insane. Years of unremitting industry as a teacher, and a legacy from a deceased relative, had given her a competence sufficient for her simple mode of life. She might have rested, after her long-continued toil, and carried with her, into honored retirement, the consciousness of innumerable acts of kindness bestowed, and duties faithfully performed. "But I felt," says she, "that I had no right to live for myself alone; that there was much work to be done in the world, and there must be something for me to do. While I eagerly asked of myself, What *is* my appointed mission? I was led into the prison houses of the land, and soon saw that my work was there."

And bravely is she performing her heavenly mission! Travelling alone, in cold and storm; expending her income, her energies, and her health; witnessing scenes of degradation and filth, exceedingly revolting to the fastidious delicacy of her character, and continually brought into contact with mental and physical suffering, agonizing to her compassionate heart.

Through her benevolent influence on select-men, county commissioners, and state legislators, extensive and beneficent changes have already taken place in Massachusetts, though much remains to be done. She has recently returned from a similar tour of duty in Canada, and is now travelling through New York. In some respects, she thinks the prisons in this State are in a better condition than those of Massachusetts; particularly as the *insane* are rarely found within their walls. But she says, if the civilized world affords a spectacle more painful than the institutions provided in Albany for the poor and vicious, she trusts it will never be her lot to witness it.

I inquired whether the amount of good accomplished had, so far, equalled her expectations. She said it had; and that her faith in the power of kindness, over the insane and vicious, had been more than confirmed. Among the hundreds of crazy people, with whom her sacred mission has brought her into companionship, she has not found *one* individual, however fierce and turbulent, that could not be calmed by scripture and prayer, uttered in low and gentle tones. The power of the religious sentiment over these shattered souls seems perfectly miraculous. The worship of a quiet, loving heart affects them like a voice from heaven. Tearing and rending, yelling and stamping, singing and groaning, gradually subside into silence, and they fall on their knees, or gaze upward with clasped hands, as if they saw through the opening darkness a golden gleam from their Father's throne of love.

On one occasion this missionary of mercy was earnestly cautioned not to approach a raving maniac. He yelled frightfully, day and night, rent his garment, plucked out his hair, and was so violent that it was supposed he would murder any one that ventured within his reach. Miss Dix seated herself at a little distance, and, without appearing to notice him, began to read, with serene countenance and gentle voice, certain passages of scripture filled with the spirit of tenderness. His shouts gradually subsided, until at last he became perfectly still. When she paused, he said meekly, "Read me some more; it does me good." And when, after a prolonged season of worship she said, "I must go away now;" he eagerly replied, "No, you cannot go. God sent you to me; and you must not go." By kind words, and a promise to come again, she finally obtained permission to depart. "Give me your hand," said he. She gave it, and smiled upon him. The wild expression of his haggard countenance softened to tearfulness, as he said, "*You* treat me right. God sent you."

On another occasion she had been leading some twenty or thirty maniacs into worship, and seeing them all quiet as lambs gathered into the shepherd's fold, she prepared to go forth to other duties. In leaving the room, she passed an insane young man, with whom she had several interviews. He stood with hands clasped, and a countenance of the deepest reverence. With a friendly smile, she said, "Henry, are you well to-day?" "Hush!—hush!" replied he, sinking his voice to a whisper, and gazing earnestly on the space around her. "Hush!—there are angels with you! They have given you their voice!"

But let not the formalist suppose that *he* can work such miracles as these, in the professed name of Jesus. Vain is the scripture or the prayer, repeated by rote! They must be the meek utterance of a heart overflowing with love, for to such only do the angels "lend their voices."

L. M. C.

From the Present.

THE GROWING UNPOPULARITY OF WAR.

BY WM. H. CHANNING.

When, two years since, England and this country stood with clenched hands and bullying looks, threatening each other about a strip of land, like two big boys quarrelling for an apple, did not the absurdity of the spectacle quite deaden our sense of its atrocity? The vaporing and rodomontade about "national honor," sounded like the snapping of crackers on a holyday. There was no possible working of ones self up to the notion, that these grand, bowing plenipotentiaries were really in earnest, and everybody took it for granted, that between the stately interchange of prosy letters, there was no little side-laugh over the nuts and wine of dinners, which harmed none but the eaters. War, between two such nations as England and America, is plainly a farce. Nothing but fiendish selfishness in their appointed leaders could, by any chance, bring it about. We read Charles O'Malley, or some of the military or naval novels, with utter astonishment that we are fools enough to be intoxicated by the frothy wit of a flashy author, and made insensible, even for a moment, to the loathsomeness of human butchery. In earlier time true greatness may have often worn the corslet and hauberk; and the armor-suit of a Joan of Arc seems still worthy of being burnished, in token of patriot devotion. But when, in these days, a young dandy of Regent street, without one earnest purpose or an impulse of self-sacrifice, pads and girds himself; and, spur on heel and feather in cap, goes curveting to the wars, for the chance of getting an interesting scratch that shall give him a claim to the hand of some beggared noble's or some moneyed plebian's daughter, the frivolous criminality of the act is extenuated only on the ground that nations, pretending to be Christian and civilized, still keep hired murderers neatly decked and trimmed for service, so called. We know well, that in our military academies, wasting away in sickly forts or on our frontiers or pestilential navy stations, lounging amidst enervating temptations in cities, at home and abroad, are men, old and young, of strong intellects and generous tempers, and even, wonderful as is the inconsistency, of religious principles; so strong is the prestige of military honor, so skillful have been the wiles of politicians to mask this death's head of war. But if they would confess it, how many men, caught by enthusiasm or accident in the snare, have misgivings as to this profession of carnage, and would gladly, with honor, escape. The heroism of Christian forgiveness is fast softening the passions which still madden the children of the Goths and Celts: and the baptism of love will soon purge away the poison of that angry blood. The people of Christendom cannot be much longer gagged and cuffed by ridiculous tyrants, whose vanity thirsts to strut across the stage of history, with a train of glittering and jingling followers. War has become intolerably nonsensical to all eyes, as well as disgusting for its cruelty. No extent of empire, no array of troops, no wealth, no profession, no trappings of triumph, can save a state, of Europe or America, which is guilty of violence, from being branded as a robber and an assassin. In the wasted millions and massacres of Florida, the horrible carnage of Afghanistan, the brilliant skirmishes of the Arabs in Algiers, and the desolating vengeance of the Circassians, impetuous as mountain torrents, a world sees and announces the retribution, only too mild to seem just, for atrocious crime. Monarch and minister, captain and noble, statesman and politician, who dare to-day, from private or public pique, from ambition or miscalled national pride, to break the holy league of peace, must make up their minds to stand in the pillory, and to be cropped as rogues before the bar of Humanity.

From the Liberator.

REFORM.

A new year of labor has begun in the stillness of winter. In the moral world, however, the fields are ever white for the harvest, and the reaper has only to put in the sickle, and do his part towards the great in-gathering. There are no seasons of repose to the reformer. It is ever, with him, seed-time and harvest. Though the seed he scatters broadcast over the world, is invisible to the unanointed eye, it is still a reality—the only reality—for that seed is truth. It becomes him ever to be ready, with his loins girded, and his seed in his hand, to go abroad, scattering the unseen, but almighty germs of happiness. Much discouragement and disheartening will he meet with from a froward and perverse generation—because they look still for an outward redemption, for an earthly Messiah. The evils of outward condition absorb their sight. They scoff at, and belie, and, it may be, crucify him who would draw them from their physical deliverance, by the mighty leading of great principles. What they do not see with their eyes, they cannot receive. Their faith in the unseen God, is but traditional, and not vital. He is an unknown God to them as much as he was to the scoffing Athenians. They do not believe in the soul, but in the body. Motion is to them volition—action is thought—meeting-houses are religion—state-houses are government. They do not look behind the shows and forms with which the world is filled, and discern the secret principles which they outshadow. This it is that makes the path of the reformer hard. He is misunderstood. His method is not comprehended. The connection between his means and his ends is not perceived—and men say, he hath a devil and is mad. But, still, he hath his reward. The veil is lifted from his eyes, in degree as he is true and worthy, and he sees the secrets of the machinery in the midst of whose operations he lives. He discerns the causes of its disarrangements, and how it is that a Divine contrivance for the happiness of mankind, has become perverted to their misery and wo. He sees that no half measures are of any virtue. False and disturbing principles have been introduced which destroy the harmony of the machine, and make it produce results the opposite of the Inventor's design. Nothing can repair the ruin but the removal of the disturbing forces, and the restoration of the true motive power. To this work he applies himself, and proclaims aloud the error which has obtained, and the remedy for it. He heeds not the sneers of the faithless, nor the doubts of the timid good. He knows that he has got an omnipotent engine in his hands, which, though he may not live to see the day, will rectify the disordered frame of things, and reduce the chaotic scene to order and beauty.

How few there are who truly perceive the omnipotence of a principle! How is the true life concealed by its visible manifestations! And yet can there be anything more apparent than that principles of Truth are all that is conservative and recuperative in the world? And that the dissemination and true reception of these principles, are the only means by which abuses can be reformed? And yet men will look at presidents, and congresses, and courts, for the help which they themselves alone can give themselves. Outward victory—the ascendancy of this or that party—the predomination of this or that sect—is regarded as the sign of reform and of progress. And yet, how continually has disappointment been written on every page of history that has recorded such triumphs! As wise were the fanatic reformers who destroyed miracles of art and of architecture, thinking that thereby they exterminated Popery—or the republican zealots who rifled the sepulchres of St. Denys, and scattered to the winds the ashes of a hundred kings, as an additional bulwark of freedom. It is by slow degrees, and difficult experience, that the world grows wise—for, by a strange infirmity, it is apt to look upon the old errors and sins of the past, as precedents to be followed, rather than as warnings to be shunned. But it will yet grow wise, and learn the things that pertain unto peace.

This has ever been the process of reform, as far as it has as yet affected the interests of mankind. A single mind perceives a truth, which had been before hidden from men's eyes—because they would not see it. He that has perceived the truth, states it. The mass of men reject it and him. Perhaps they persecute him to strange cities, or even unto death itself. Whatever be the form in which men revenge themselves upon those who disturb them in their hereditary slumbers, in the particular age in which he lives, he is sure to endure it. But, almost from the very first, there are some minds to which the new truth commends itself, as a newly-discovered part of their own being, and these cluster around the original truth-founder. Perhaps they but imperfectly understand its meaning and the extent of its bearing; but according to their capacity, they are filled with its power. From them the circle widens and widens till it embraces within its ring a sea, or, perhaps, an ocean. This was the truth which Christ shadowed forth in the parables of the grain of mustard seed, and of the leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal. And how strong an illustration does his own mission furnish of this growth of reform! Even his disciples, during his life, and even after his death, but imperfectly comprehended his doctrine. And what lies have been extorted from it, from that day to this! What streams of human blood has the Prince of Peace been made to shed! Of what abominations has he not been made the patron and the founder! The world is but little in advance of his contemporaries in the reception of the great truths which he perceived and stated. But still there are some minds which do begin to discern with a perfect vision the laws of the soul, and to recognize their Divine beauty and almighty power. The circumstances of the times are in many respects favorable to their more general reception. The great doctrine of the equality and brotherhood of mankind is now, in this country at least, universally acknowledged, though in but too many instances with lying lips. This great idea is becoming more and more practically familiar to men's minds. Gross physical persecution is almost obsolete. The right of free inquiry and discussion is admitted by almost all lips, though denied by many hearts, and still obstructed by inveterate prejudice, spiritual tyranny, and sometimes by popular violence. The old ideas are losing their hold upon men's minds, and the institutions that stand for them are tottering to their foundations. Men are looking about them for some surer foundation on which to build their hopes, and some will be found ready to embrace the only ground of truth. A state of moral movement prevails, which is the atmosphere in which reform takes deepest root, and sheds forth its most vigorous branches. These are hopeful days for the reformer. Let him not allow the appointed time to pass by unimproved.

And let not his soul be troubled because his progress seems to be slow. The generation in whose ears he first utters the unwelcome message may refuse to receive it—but how soon it melts away, and another reigns in its stead! At first, it seems almost impossible to produce any impression upon the unbelieving multitudes in the high places and in the low places. But by the gradual, but mighty, process of nature, the world is by degrees filled with new life, and the old passes silently into the sepulchres of the past. The mighty men who seem to fill up the whole field of vision now, whither will twenty years bear them away? Whence have come the new multitudes which throng this breathing world, that were but just born into time a score of years since? What a change has come over men's minds in the quarter century that has passed over the world since Napoleon shook the scene! With new minds come new ideas—and with new ideas, will, in due time, come a new world. What a change will twenty years make in the aspect of the anti-slavery movement, for example, should chattel slavery endure so long! Where will be Webster, and Tyler, and Clay, and Calhoun? Where will be the troops of honorable and reverend asserters of the divinity and inviolability of the peculiar institution? They will be all gone, and their places will be filled by a race taught in other schools. So with respect to the systems of violence with which the earth is filled. The pillars of these systems will have fallen. Younger minds, pervaded with new views, will succeed them, and by degrees the institutions of society will conform to the changed current of men's minds. Mighty revolutions will be achieved without a blow, and freedom and happiness purchased without the price of bloodshed and misery. The leaven will change the mass of society just as fast and as far as its virtue pervades it. Nothing can retard the progress of this peaceful revolution—for its theatre is the unseen soul. Its battles are there fought and won. It is from thence that its triumphal movements, which are to be seen in the outward world, are projected. In this revolution of thoughts and opinions, we must all needs take a part, whether we will or no. It rests with ourselves to decide whether our part shall be magnanimous or pitiful—whether our efforts shall be directed to spread or retard the coming triumph.

THE POWER OF KINDNESS OVER THE INSANE.

At the late sitting of the French Academy of Sciences, a paper on insanity was read by its author, M. Moreau, one of the physicians present. The chief object of this pamphlet, is to recommend the adoption in France, as regards pauper lunatics, of the plan resorted to in Belgium,

M. Moreau states that in the village of Gheel, in that country, there is a colony of not less than seven hundred lunatics, who are treated on so admirable a system, that they are perfectly harmless, and live and labor with the sane inhabitants, whose habits they acquire, and to whom they become so attached, that when cured, they are frequently unwilling to quit the place. These lunatics are made useful in agriculture and manufactures, and consequently their cost is small compared with that of ordinary lunatic asylums. The origin of this colony is dated as far back as the sixth century, and is another verification of the old adage, that there is nothing new under the sun! The mode of treating the lunatics at Hanwell, near London, was considered, when first put in practice, as a novelty, and yet it was nothing but the Gheel practice, imperfectly carried out. It is only surprising that this improved mode of treatment should have been deferred so long in England; and it is now evident that it is capable of great extension in its application. Within the last few years only, in that country, medical men have ascertained the possibility of so classing and occupying lunatics as to render even the most violent of them, comparatively tranquil, and thus facilitating the curative process. For chains, whips, and other means of coercion, kindness, and intelligence on the part of the keepers, have been substituted, not only at Hanwell, but also at the Bethlehem Asylum.

A PAIR OF GOOD ANECDOTES.

We cannot take upon ourselves to say that the following anecdotes are entirely new, but we consider them exceedingly good:—[London paper.]

A meeting in connection with the Bible Society, was recently held in Paris, at which a gentleman appeared who had been sent over from England, by the committee of the Bible Society in London. This representative had been chosen, we understand, for his superior knowledge of the French language. In his turn he addressed the Parisian assembly, with great fire and energy; but when he expected to see them beaming with enthusiasm, or melted into tears, he observed a smile on every face, and heard from every quarter, the sound of suppressed laughter. This occurred so often that there was no mistaking it for any casual effect, and the gentleman was, no doubt, mightly astonished at such a display from people so well bred as the French are generally allowed to be. When he had finished his oration, he asked a friend what could possibly have created so much laughter while he was speaking. He found to his utter dismay, that in his eagerness to impress upon the assembly the necessity of taking *the water of life* (the scriptures,) to the poor heathen, he had unconsciously been expatiating with all his might on the virtues of brandy, (*eau de vie,*) exhorting the multitude to induce them to send brandy to those who were athirst, and telling them that thousands of their fellow-creatures were perishing for the lack of brandy!

A French divine, preaching in England, fell into a mistake almost as amusing as the above. As the English clergy are accustomed to call those of their communion their *flock*, the French designate all who assemble under their ministry their *sheep*. The French divine alluded to haranguing his hearers in English, but forgetting that we have in our language two translations for mutton, one signifying the dead and the other the living animal, continually addressed his congregation, much to their surprise, as his *dear muttons!*

THE BLESSEDNESS OF TRUTH.

We are told that we may "tell a falsehood to a madman for his own advantage," and this because it is beneficial. Dr. Carter may furnish an answer: he speaks of the Female Lunatic Asylum, Salpetriere, in Paris, and says: "The great object to which the views of the officers of La Salpetriere are directed, is to gain the confidence of the patients; and this object is generally attained by gentleness, by appearing to take an interest in their affairs, by decision of character equally remote from the extremes of indulgence and severity, and by *the most scrupulous observance of good faith.* Upon this latter *particular stress* seems to be laid by Mr. Pinel, who remarks 'that insane persons, like children, lose all confidence and all respect if you fail in your word towards them; and they immediately set their ingenuity to work to deceive and circumvent you.'" What then becomes of the doctrine of "telling falsehoods to madmen *for their own advantage?*" It is pleasant thus to find the evidence of experience enforcing the dictates of principle, and that what morality declares to be right, facts declare to be expedient.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war, with Great Britain, as well as with her.

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

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